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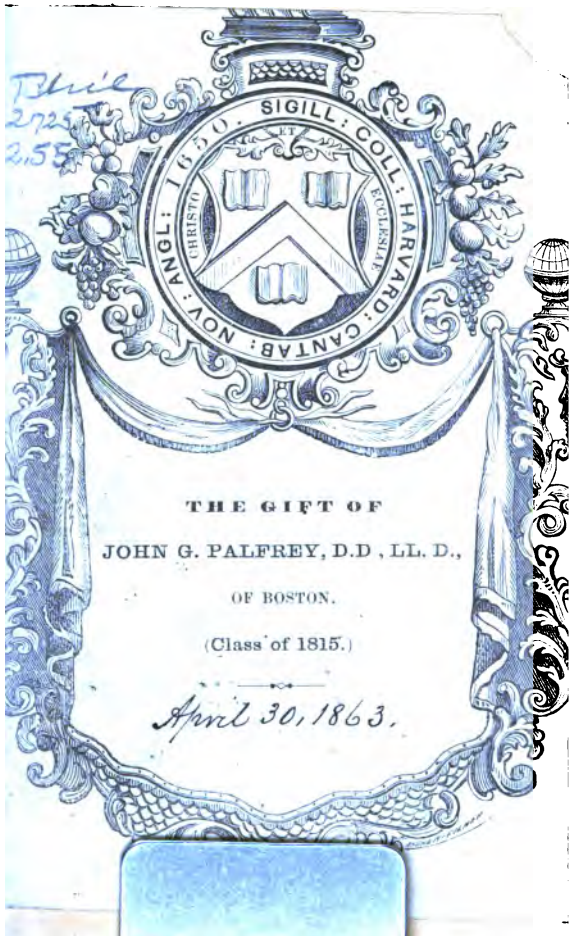
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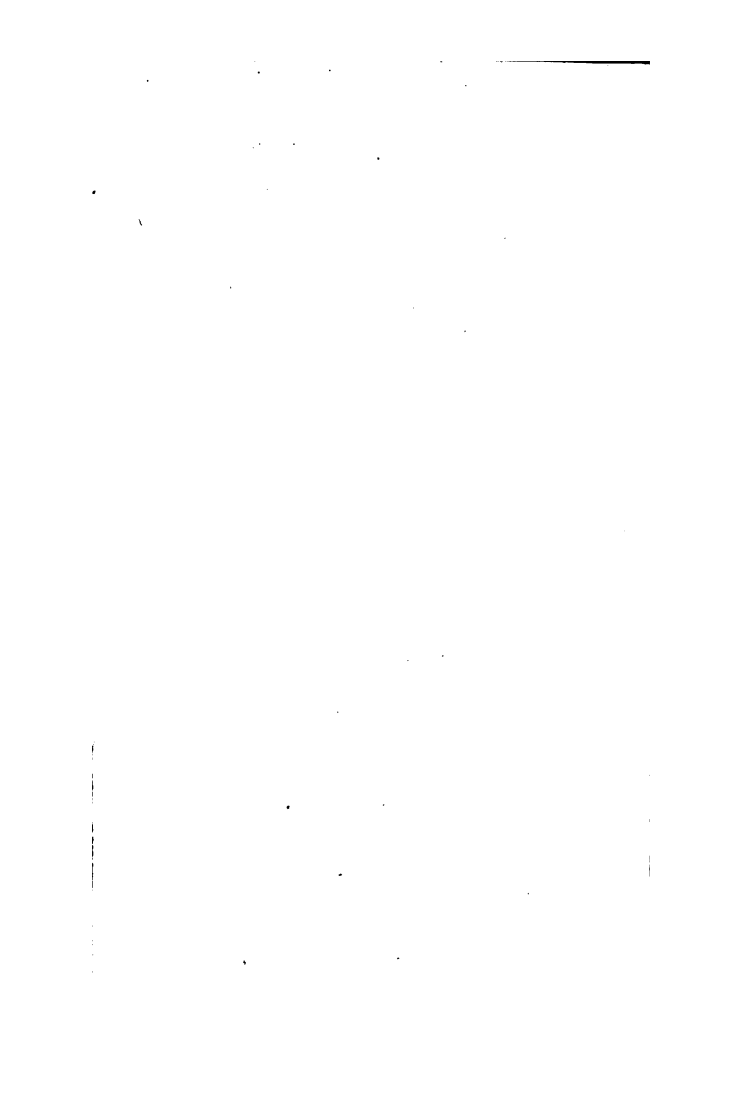
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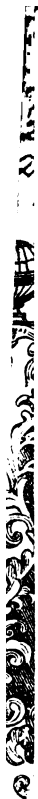
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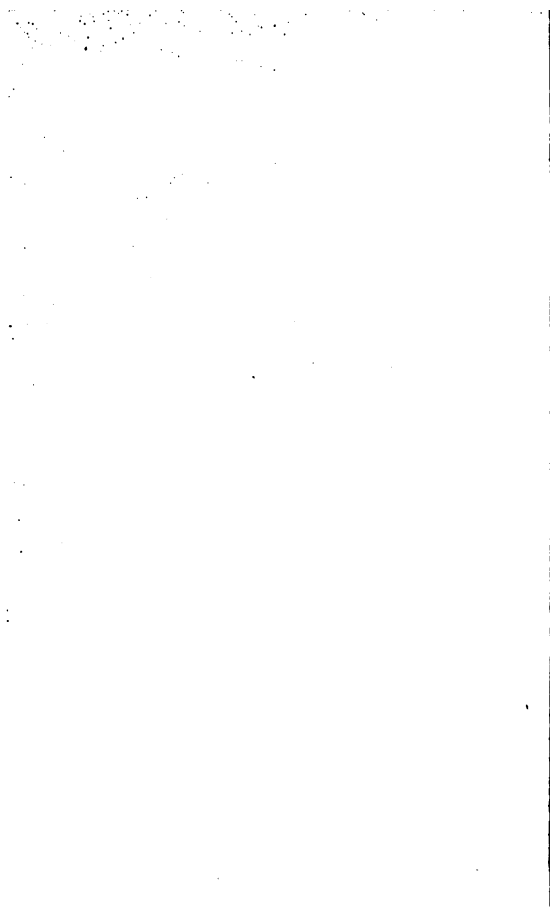
THE GIFT OF
JOHN G. PALFREY, D.D., LL. D.,
OF BOSTON.
(Class of 1815.)

April 30, 1863.









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THE

PEOPLE'S OWN BOOK.

BY

(Hugues) Felicite (Robert), the Abbe.
F. DE LA MENNAIS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY NATHANIEL GREENE.

BOSTON:

CHARLES C. LITTLE & JAMES BROWN,

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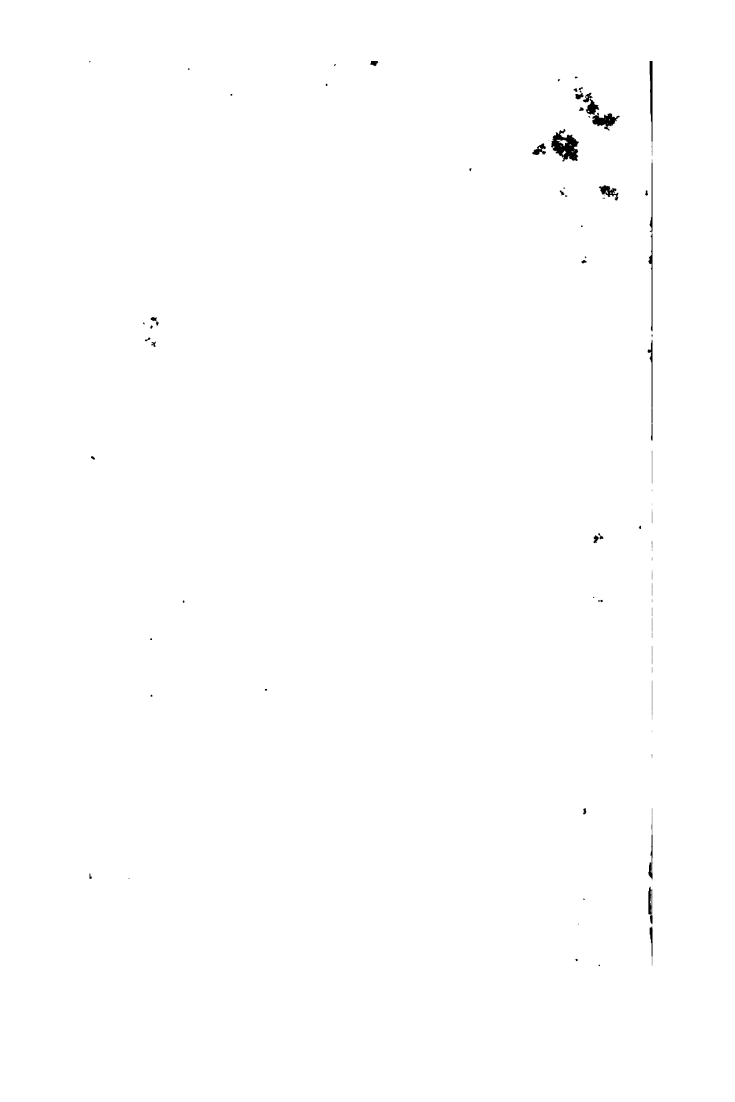
THE problem of man's existence, its conditions, the rights resulting from those conditions, and the duties involved, is now commanding the attention due to its importance. We see Humanity, not as it originally came from the hands of its Creator, but such as the events of thousands of years have made it. We mistake habit for

nature, and lose the power of distinguishing between the natural and the artificial. It is desirable to recover and to exercise this power ; to analyze man, society ; to ascertain the original condition of the one, and trace the history of the other ; to ascertain the rights and duties of the one, and the origin, objects, and legitimate powers of the other. While seeking for light upon these and kindred questions, accident threw in my way "*Le Livre du Peuple*," by the celebrated abbé de la Mennais, and it occurred to me that a translation might be beneficial to those whose minds are exercised on these subjects.

Although more particularly addressed to the people of Europe, who are now suffering many evils and oppressions from which we have happily escaped, it nevertheless contains much that is applicable to every people in every age; and with the hope that it may be useful, if not in teaching rights, at least in exciting to the performance of duties, this volume is respectfully commended to his fellow citizens by

THE TRANSLATOR.

Boston, October, 1839.



IN passing through this world, as we all pass, poor travellers of a day, I have heard great lamentations: I have opened my eyes and beheld unheard of sufferings, innumerable sorrows. Humanity has stood before me, pale, diseased, fainting, covered with mourning garments that were besprinkled with blood, and I have asked myself: Is this man? Is this he, such as God created him? And my soul was troubled,—the doubt filled it with anguish.

But I soon discovered that these sufferings and these sorrows came not from God, the source of all good and of nothing which is not good; that they are the work of man himself,

sunk in ignorance and corrupted in his passions; and then I hoped, and had faith in the future prospects of the human race. Its destinies will change whenever it shall will them to change; and it shall so will, whenever the consciousness of its malady shall be combined with a clear perception of the true remedy.

Consider, O people, whether it be not time to justify the Author of beings, by attaining for thyself a condition more consonant to his justice, to his goodness.

Thou sayest: I am cold; and, to warm thy attenuated members, thy masters bind them with triple chains of iron.

Thou sayest: I am hungry; and they reply to thee: Eat the crumbs swept from our festal halls.

Thou sayest: I am athirst; and they answer: Drink thy tears.

Thou faintest under the burthen of thy toils,
and thy masters rejoice ; they call thy fatigues
and thy exhaustion the necessary curb of labor.

Thou complainest of having no opportunity to
cultivate thy mind, to develop thy intelligence ;
and thy masters say : It is well ! the people
must be brutalized that they may be governable.

God gave in the beginning this command-
ment to all men : " Increase and multiply, and
replenish the earth, and subdue it ;" and they
say to thee : Renounce the family relation, the
chaste pleasures of marriage, the pure joys of
paternity ; abstain, live solitary : what canst
thou multiply but thy miseries ?

It is certain then that Humanity is not what
God willed it to be ; it has deviated from its
path. How shall that path be regained ?

Listen !

There was one law from the beginning ; that
law was forgotten, violated.

After the lapse of forty centuries it was anew and more perfectly promulgated by Christ.

And again it has been forgotten, again violated.

It now lies under the ruins of duties and of rights ; and hence, bowed and sad, you wander in darkness.

In that divine law, in that alone, is your political salvation, the fruitful seed of those blessings destined for you by your Creator.

Clear away the rubbish under which it lies buried, and this consoling hope, this prophetic word of ancient days, shall be fully accomplished in you :

"THE PEOPLE THAT WALKED IN DARKNESS HAVE SEEN A GREAT LIGHT; AND THE LIGHT HAS SHONE UPON THEM WHO WERE SITTING IN THE REGION OF THE SHADOW OF DEATH."



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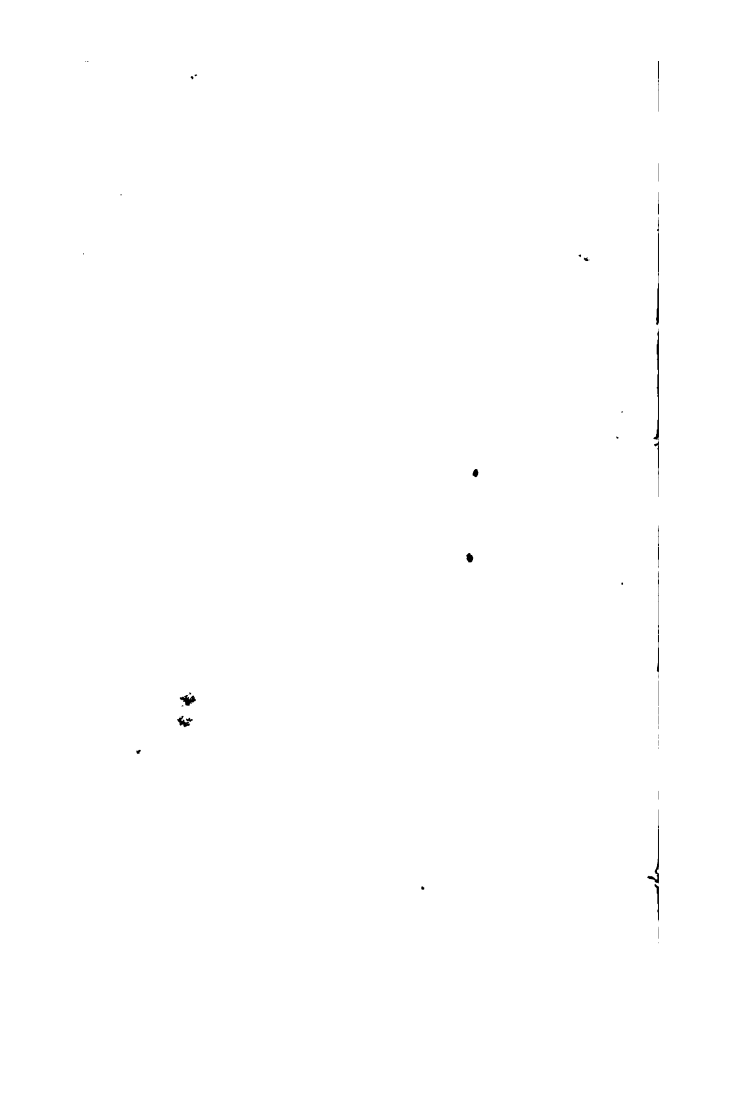
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CHAPTER I.

IN this world all things are not as they should be. The evils are too many and too great. God has not willed it so to be.

Men, the issue of a common parent, should form but one great family, united by the gentle bond of fraternal love. This family, in its growth, should have resembled a tree whose rising trunk produces numerous branches, and these again innumerable others, nourished by the same sap, animated by the same life.

In a family, all study the advantage of all, because all are actuated by mutual love, and all have an interest in the general welfare. Not one of its members but contributes to it in some manner, according to his strength, his intelligence, his particular aptitude. One does this, another that; but all are profited by the action of each, and each by the action of all. Whether they have little or much, they divide it like brethren. No distinctions surround the domestic hearth. Hunger is never seen there side by side with abundance. From hand to hand passes the cup overflowing with the gifts of God; the old man and the little child, they who can no longer or cannot yet support fatigue, and they who return with dripping foreheads from the fields, alike apply it to their lips. Their joys, their sorrows, are equally shared. Is one infirm, ill,

incapacitated for labor by age, he is cared for and nourished by the others, so that in no case is he abandoned.

No rivalry is possible where there is but one interest; neither can there be dissensions. That which originates dissension, envy, hatred, is the insatiable desire of possessing more and always more, when one possesses for himself alone. Solitary possessions are accursed of heaven. Incessantly irritating, they never satisfy the desire of gain. That wealth only which is shared can be enjoyed.

Father, mother, children, brothers, sisters, what can be more holy, more lovely, than these names? and where are there others on earth?

Had these ties been preserved such as they originally were, most of the evils

that afflict the human race would have remained unknown, while sympathy would have assuaged those that were inevitable. The only tears of unmingled bitterness are those that fall in no one's bosom, and that no one wipes away.

Whence comes it that our destiny is so dark, and our life so full of misery? Is it not from ourselves? We have forgotten the laws of nature, we have strayed from her paths. He who separates from his companions to climb the rocks unaided, ought not to complain should he find the journey rough.

“Behold the fowls of the air : for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns ; yet your heavenly father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they ?”

Upon the earth there is room for all, and God has rendered it sufficiently fertile to supply the wants of all. If many lack the necessaries of life, it is because man has disturbed the order established by God ; it is because he has interrupted the original family union ; it is because the members of that family have become first strangers and then enemies to each other.

Multitudes of particular societies, colonies, tribes, nations, have been formed, which, instead of tendering the hand and affording mutual aid, have only studied how to injure each other.

Bad passions, and selfishness, whence all bad passions spring, have armed brothers against brothers. Each has sought his own good at the expense of the others. Rapine has banished secur-

ity from the world, and war has devastated it. There is a furious struggle for the bloody fragments of the common heritage. Now, when the force destined for productive labor is almost entirely devoted to the work of destruction ; when civil war, pillage, murder, mark the progress of man upon the soil ; when conquest disturbs the natural proportion between each people and the extent of territory which it occupies and can cultivate ; when innumerable obstacles interrupt or shackle international communication and the free exchange of productions : how can it be that such extreme disorders should not involve sufferings equally profound ?

While nations are thus separated from each other, each nation is also divided in itself. Individuals have appeared who have proffered these impious words : It

is for us to command and govern ; others have only to obey.

They have made laws for their own advantage, and have maintained them by force. On one side, power, wealth, luxurious indulgence ; on the other, all the burthens of society.

In certain times and certain countries, man has become the property of man ; they have made him the subject of traffic ; they have bought and sold him for a price.

In other times and other countries, without absolutely depriving him of liberty, they have so managed that almost the entire fruit of his labor reverted to those who held him in dependence. Complete slavery had been better for him. For the master at least feeds, lodges and

clothes his slave, and nurses him in sickness, on account of the pecuniary interest he has in his preservation. But he who belongs to no one is used only so long as a profit can be drawn from him, after which he is left to suffer unaided. What is he good for when age and labor have consumed his strength? To die in the streets of cold and hunger. Yet his aspect shocks those who are enjoying all the pleasures of life. Perhaps he says to them as they pass: A morsel of bread for the love of God! That is impertinent. He is therefore taken up and thrown into one of those unclean receptacles called alms-houses, where his misery is less obtrusive.

Excessive self-love has everywhere extinguished the love of others. Brothers have said to brothers: We are not of the same race; our blood is purer, we wish

not to mingle it with yours. You and your children are destined to serve us forever.

Elsewhere, distinctions have been founded, not upon birth, but on wealth.

How much do you possess ? So much. Take your seat at the social banquet : the table is spread for you. Thou who hast nothing, retire. Is there home or country for the poor ?

Thus are ranks marked and classes determined by fortune. One has rights of all sorts, because he is rich, — the exclusive privilege of taking part in the administration of the affairs of all, that is to say, of securing his own private interests at the expense of all.

The *rabble*, as the common people are contemptuously called, individually en-

franchised, have generally been the property of those who regulate the relations between the members of society, the operations of industry, the conditions of labor, its price, and the division of its fruits. What it has pleased them to ordain, they have named law; and the laws have been for the most part only measures of private interest, means of augmenting and perpetuating the domination and the abuse of the domination of the few over the many.

Such has the world become by the rupture of the fraternal relation. Repose, opulence, all advantages, for the few; fatigue, want, and a grave, for the many.

The few compose, under different names, the superior, the elevated classes; the many comprises the people.

CHAPTER II.

You are the people : Know then what
is meant by this term, the people.

There are men who, groaning under the burthens of the day, incessantly exposed to the sun, to the rain, to the wind, to all the vicissitudes of the seasons, cultivate the earth, deposite in its bosom a portion of their strength and their life with the seed that is to fructify, and thus with the sweat of their brows obtain the food necessary for all.

These men are of the people.

Others explore the forest, the quarry, the mine, descending to immense depths into the bowels of the earth, that they may extract the materials indispensable to the trades, the arts. These, like the first, consume their life in hard labor for the procurement of those things which all need.

These also are of the people.

Others cast metals, fashion them, and give them the forms that adapt them to a thousand varied uses ; others work in wood ; others, spinning wool, flax and silk, manufacture different stuffs ; others provide in the same manner for the different wants arising directly from nature, or from social life.

These are of the people.

Many, amid continual perils, cross the seas to transport from one country to another those things peculiar to each ; or struggle against waves and tempests, under the tropical fires as amid polar ices, either to augment the common mass of subsistence, or to draw from the ocean multitudes of productions useful to man.

These also are of the people.

And who are they who take up arms for their country, defend her, give to her their best years, their labor and their blood ? Who devote themselves for the security of others, that they may rest in the tranquil enjoyment of their firesides ? Who are they, if not the children of the people ?

Some of them also, through a thousand obstacles, impelled and sustained by genius, develope and perfect the arts, letters and the sciences, softening manners and civilizing nations; surrounding them with that transcendent splendor which is called glory, and forming one of the most fruitful sources of the public prosperity.

Thus, in every country, all they who exhaust themselves to produce and diffuse their productions, all they whose action turns to the profit of the whole community, the classes most necessary to its well-being, most indispensable to its preservation, they are the people. With the exception of a privileged few who are buried in mere enjoyment, the people are the human race.

Without the people, no prosperity, no developement, no life; for there can be

no life without labor, and labor is every where the destiny of the people.

Let the people suddenly disappear, and what would become of society? It would disappear with them. A few isolated individuals only would remain dispersed over the soil, which they would then be compelled to cultivate with their own hands. To be able to live, they would be obliged to become *people*.

Now, in this society, composed almost entirely of the people, and which subsists but by the people, what is the condition of the people? What does society for them?

It condemns them to an incessant struggle against multitudes of obstacles of every species, which it opposes to the amelioration of their condition, to the

alleviation of their afflictions ; it leaves them but a small portion of the fruits of their labors ; it treats them as the ploughman treats his horse or his ox, and often worse ; it creates for them, under divers names, interminable servitude and hopeless misery.

CHAPTER III.

WERE we to count all the sufferings for ages and ages endured on the face of the globe by the people, not consequent upon the laws of nature but upon the vices of society, the number of those sufferings would exceed that of the blades of grass covering a world which they have saturated with their tears.

Will it be always thus ?

Is this vast multitude destined to run through the circle of the same sorrows

forever ? Has it nothing to hope from the future ? Upon all points of the route traced for it through the tide of time, shall there never escape from its bosom but the same heart-rending cry of distress ? Is there any intrinsic or extrinsic fatal necessity which forbids all improvement of its condition, even to the end ? Has our heavenly father willed that its sufferings should be eternal ?

Believe it not ; the thought is blasphemy.

The ways of God are ways of love. Men receive from him not the evils that afflict his poor creatures, but the blessings which he showers upon them in profusion.

The softened air which animates them in spring is his breath, and the refreshing dews of summer descend from him.

The few say: You are destined to misery from your birth ; here below, your life is only suffering, and cannot be otherwise. But your sufferings, it is *they* who make them ; and, because they have founded their own good upon the evil of the many, they would persuade these that their misery is irremediable, and that a simple effort to escape from it is an attempt equally criminal and insensate.

Listen not to these deceitful words. The perfect felicity to which every human being aspires, is not, it is true, of this world. You pass through it for the attainment of an end, for the fulfilment of duties, for the accomplishment of a work ; repose is beyond, and now is the time for labor. This labor, however, according to the design of Him who imposes it, is not a continual chastisement to be undergone ;

but, so far as the effort which it necessitates will permit, a real though mingled good, a commencement of that joy the plenitude of which is its term.

We are like the ploughman who sows in the spring and gathers only in autumn. But has he no pleasure in his toil, and does not contentment germinate with hope in his furrows ?

The misery which you are told is irremediable, it is on the contrary your duty to remedy. And since the obstacle is not in the laws of nature but in those of men, you can do it when you will ; for they who erroneously suppose it to be their interest to hinder you, — what are they in your hands ? What is their power ? You are a hundred against one of them.

How can you wonder that you have hitherto reaped so little of the fruit of

your efforts ? You have in your hands that which overturns, you have not in your hearts that which builds up and establishes. Justice has sometimes failed you, charity always.

You had to defend your rights ; — you, or the few in your name, have often attacked the rights of others. You had to establish fraternity on the earth, the reign of God, the reign of love ; — instead of that, each one has thought only of himself, and each one has had only his own proper interest in view. Hatred and envy have animated you. Search your hearts, and most of you will find there this secret thought : “ I labor and suffer — such an one is indolent and satiated with enjoyments. Why he, rather than I ? ” And your greatest desire is to be in his place, to live like him, and act like him.

Now, that would not be to destroy the evil, but to perpetuate it. The evil is in the injustice, and not in that it is this one rather than that one who profits by the injustice.

Would you succeed ? Accomplish good ends by good means. Confound not the power that is guided by justice and charity with brutal and ferocious violence.

Would you succeed ? Think of your brethren as much as of yourselves. Let their cause be your cause, their good your good, their evil your evil. See and feel not only for yourselves but for them. Let your indifference be transformed into profound sympathy, and your selfishness into generous devotion. You will then no longer remain isolated individuals, with whom a few who are better united will do what they please. You will be-

come one, and when you are one you will be all ; and who will then dare to interpose between you and the end you would attain ? Isolated at present, because each one is occupied only with himself, with his own personal objects, you are made to oppose each other, and are mastered one by the other : when you shall have but one interest, one will, one common action, where is the power that can vanquish you ?

But comprehend well your task, or you will always fail.

It is not in your power, individually, to better your destiny ; for the mass will still continue in a state of equal suffering, and the world remain unchanged. Good and evil will still subsist in the same proportions ; they will only be differently distributed, with regard to persons.

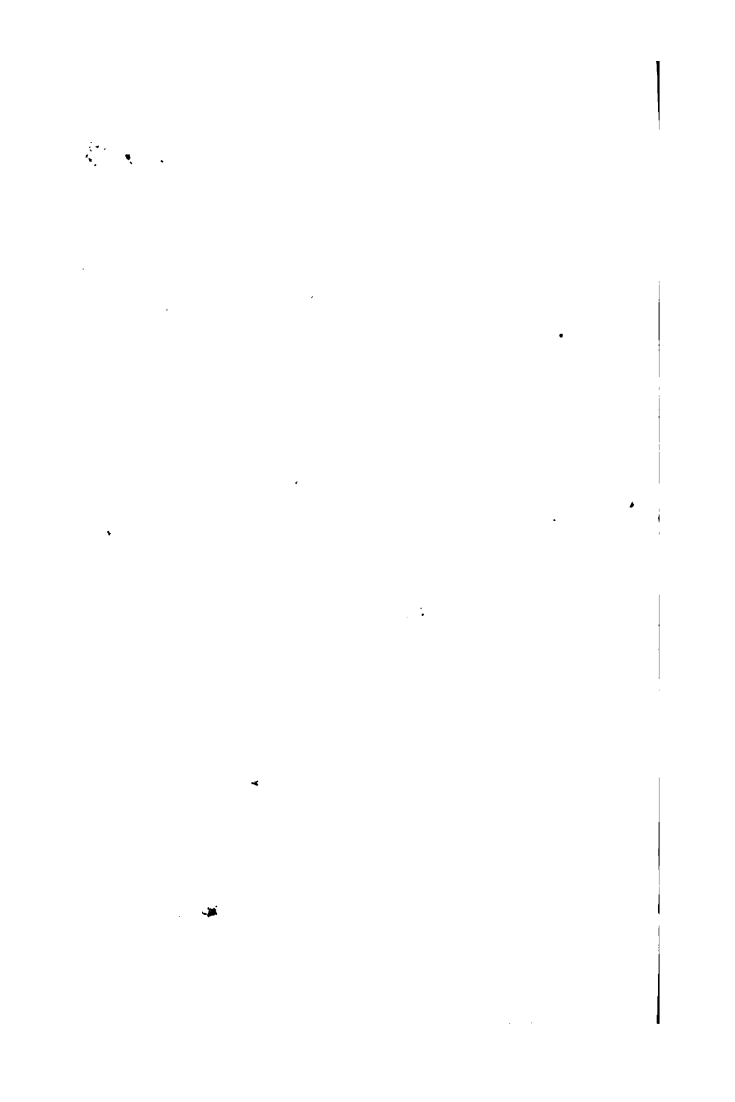
One will mount, another descend, and that will be all.

The object is not to substitute one domination for another. Of what consequence is it who bears sway? All domination implies separate classes, consequently privileges, consequently conflicting interests, and, by virtue of the laws made by the privileged classes to secure the advantages of their superior position, the sacrifice of the many to the few. The people are as the manure of the earth where they take root.

Behold your task, it is great. It is to form the universal family, to build the city of God, and, progressively, by unceasing effort, to realize his work in Humanity.

When, loving each other like brothers, you mutually treat each other like broth-

ers; when each one, seeking his own in the common good, is always ready to devote himself for all the members of the common family, who are in turn equally ready to devote themselves for him; then, most of the evils under the weight of which the human race now groans, will disappear as the mists of morning are dissipated at the rising of the sun. And thus will God's will be accomplished,—for it is his will that love, gradually, and ever more and more intimately, uniting the scattered elements of Humanity, and organizing them in one sole body, should cause them to become one as He himself is one.



CHAPTER IV.

You now know the end at which you ought to aim. Nature directs you towards it, incessantly impels you to its attainment, by inspiring you with the unconquerable desire of deliverance from the evils besetting you on every side, the desire of a better state, and which cannot be better for you if not also better for your brethren. Thus by working for them, you work for yourself; nor can you successfully work for yourself, but by working for them with unwearied love.

Nor is it all, to know the end marked out for you by the Creator ; without a knowledge of the means necessary for its attainment your efforts will be fruitless. Poor weary travellers, you desire to reach a habitation for the night ; learn then the way.

I will tell you the whole truth, because it is truth that saves. There are they who believe it right to conceal it : they are either impostors, or the timid whom God terrifies ; for the truth is God himself, and to conceal it is to conceal God.

The wisdom that presides over human life and prevents its wandering by chance, consists in the knowledge and practice of the true laws of human nature ; and the whole body of these laws, which constitute moral order, is that which is called *right* and *duty*.

Many speak to you only of your duties ; others speak to you only of your rights. This is dangerously to separate what is in fact inseparable. You should know both your duties and your rights, that you may perform the one and defend the other. Otherwise you will never escape from your misery.

Right and duty are like two palm-trees, which bear fruit only when growing side by side.

Your right is you, your liberty, your life.

Can it be that each one has not the right of living, the right of preserving that which he holds from God ?

Can it be that each one has not the right uninterruptedly to develope and em-

ploy his corporeal and spiritual faculties, to provide for his wants, to meliorate his condition, to rise more and more from the condition of the brute, and be ever approaching nearer to God ?

Can any one justly retain a poor human being in ignorance and in misery, in deprivation and abasement, when his efforts for escape are hurtful to none, or hurtful to those only who found their well-being on iniquity by founding it on the misfortunes of others ?

The anger of these bad men, when the weak shake off the chains that bind them, is it not the anger of the ferocious beast with its struggling victim ? And their complaints, are they not the complaints of the vulture at the escape of its prey ?

Now, what is true of one is true of all. All ought to live, all ought to enjoy a

lawful liberty of action, all ought to accomplish their end by an incessant developement and perfecting of themselves. People ought then mutually to respect the rights of each other, and it is there where duty, justice, commences.

But justice suffices not for the wants of Humanity. Each one under his own government does indeed fully enjoy his rights; but he remains isolated in the world, deprived of the succour and aid necessary to all. Does a man want bread, they would say: let him seek it; do I prevent him? I have taken nothing that belonged to him; each one to himself and each one for himself. They would repeat the words of Cain: "Am I my brother's keeper?" The widow, the orphan, the sick, the feeble, would be abandoned;—no reciprocal support, no disinterested kindness;—every

where selfishness and indifference ; — no more of genuine relations, no more sharing of joys or sorrows, no more of common feeling. Life, retired to the centre of each heart, would be consumed in solitude, like a lamp in a tomb, which shines only upon the ruins of man ; for a man without heart, compassion, sympathy, love, — what is he but a moving corpse ?

And since we have need of each other, for mutual support, like frail plants which are agitated and bent by the slightest winds, — since mankind would perish without a mutual communication of the goods individually possessed by virtue of the law of justice, — another law is necessary for the preservation of the human race ; and that law is CHARITY. Charity, which forms a single living body of the scattered members of Humanity, is the

consummation of duty, of which the foundation is justice.

What would a man be, deprived of all liberty on earth, — who could neither go, nor come, nor act, but as another commanded or permitted? What would an entire people be, reduced to this condition? The savage beasts live happier and less degraded in the bosom of their forests.

Moreover, what would a man be, selfishly concentrated within himself, neither directly injuring nor serving any one, dreaming only of himself, living only for himself? What can a people be, composed of unconnected individuals, where no one sympathises with the misfortunes of others, nor feels himself obliged to aid or assist his fellow creatures; where all interchange of services is but a calculation of interest; where the groan of

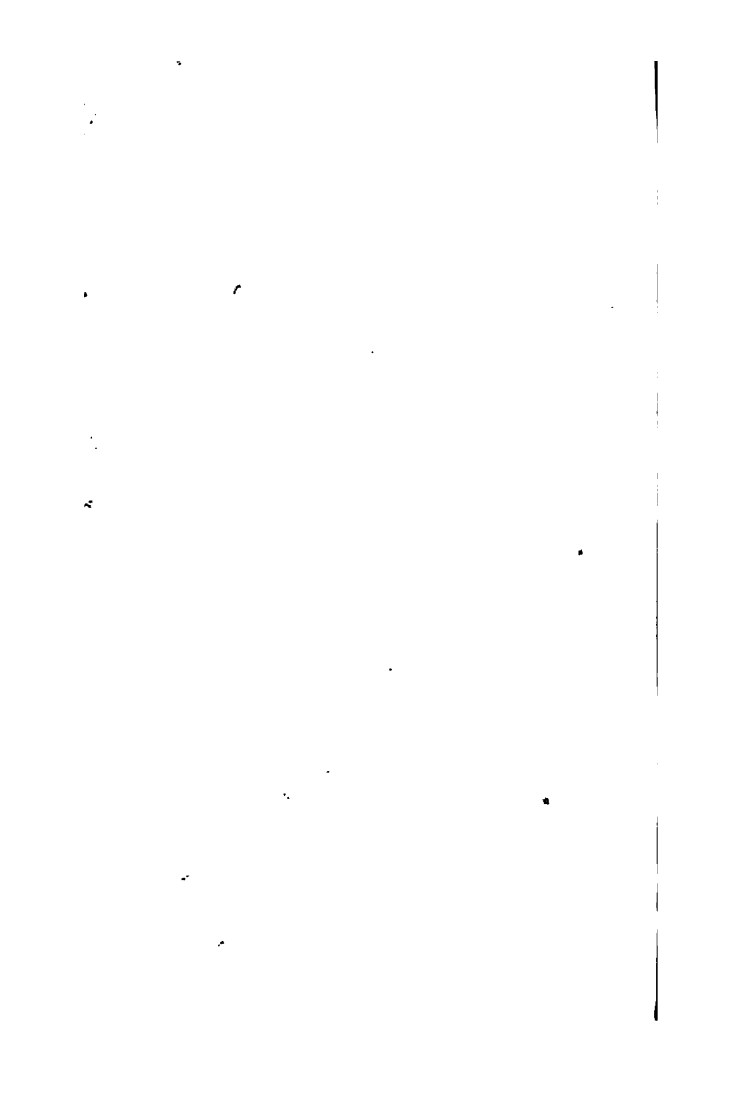
suffering, the lamentation of grief, the sob of distress, the cry of hunger, evaporate in the air as unmeaning sounds ; where no blessings are diffused by a secret impulsion of that love which alone knows what it is to possess, because it enjoys only that which it gives ?

This people, like the scattered grains abandoned upon the ground after the harvest has been gathered, would soon rot in the dirt, if it were not swept away by one of those tempests which God has ordered occasionally to pass over the world for its purification.

It is right that frees, but it is duty that unites ; the union of the two is life, and their perfect union is perfect life.

Nature every where warns us of our indispensable need of each other. The divine precept of mutual aid, devotedness

and love, is every moment recalled to mind by what our eyes see around us. When the time is come for the swallows to seek in other climes the food which their heavenly father has there prepared, they assemble together ; then, inseparably they fly, aërial navigators, towards the haven of peace and abundance.— Alone, what would become of any one of them ? How many would escape from the perils of the route ? United, they resist the winds ; the failing wing supports itself upon one less frail. Poor gentle little creatures that the last spring saw peeping from their shell, the very youngest, sheltered and sustained by the older ones, attain the end of their voyage, and in the distant land to which Providence has conducted them they enter again into those mysterious and ineffable joys which God has decreed for all beings at the entrance of life.



CHAPTER V.

I HAVE told you: your right is you, your liberty, your life. Is not each man individually distinct from every other? Has he not his own separate and independent existence, his corporeal organs, his thought, his will? This could not be, were he not himself, and solely himself.

Now, to preserve and develop himself according to the laws of his particular nature, in harmony with the univer-

sal law, to possess fully the gift of God, to enjoy it without interference or hindrance, is RIGHT, without which there can be no order, no progress, no existence; and hence right, for each one, has its origin in man's very being.

Thus right, in so far as it is primitive and radical, is inalienable. Has it ever been imagined that one can alienate his being, give it to another, render up to him his own proper self? One can die for his brother, and it may sometimes become his duty to do so; but one can neither transform his brother into himself nor himself into his brother.

The right to self-preservation, or the right to live, implies a right to all that is indispensable to the maintenance of life. The Author of the universe has not

placed man in a worse condition than animals. Are not all invited to the rich banquet of nature? Is one excluded? In the liquid atom traversed by the imperceptible insect, as the ocean by the whale, Providence has deposited the aliment necessary for its subsistence, and this minute specimen of animated existence draws from the inexhaustible breast of the common mother its trifling portion of the nourishment which she distributes to all according to the measure of their necessities.

But man, more elevated, has two kinds of life; the life of the body and the life of the mind. He lives not by bread alone, "but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God;" that is to say, by the truth that nourishes his intelligence.

What would he be without the knowledge of the religious and moral law which unites him to God and to his fellow men, which separates him from the brute by the sublime privilege of virtue ?

Illumined by the light eternally shining in the bosom of the infinite Being, he discovers that which neither passes nor changes, the true immutable, the ever subsisting ideas and models of all that is and all that can be.

And if, from the height whence he contemplates his own destinies, which no duration limits, where hope spreads in immensity her indefatigable wings, where he feels within himself a secret force which bears him above all time, as a light body rises from the depths of the sea ; if, from this height, we descend

into the narrow valley where the first term of his existence is accomplished, what will he yet be without the science which, instructing him in the laws of nature, subjects her to his empire, surrenders her productions to his uses, arms him with her energetic powers to enable him to conquer herself and constrain her to obey his will, enlarging more and more his sphere of action by infinitely extending that of his intelligence ?

He says to the earth : Cause this plant to germinate in thy bosom ; and it germinates there, that he may be nourished by its fruit.

He says to the winds : Transport me to the boundaries of the earth : and the docile winds land him on the desired shore.

He says to the subtle vapor: Do the work of my arms, lend me thy prodigious force superior to mine; and, while he reposes, this blind power with a marvellous regularity accomplishes that which his mind had conceived.

The knowledge, then, of religious and moral law, and of the laws of the universe, is the life of the mind; and all have a right to this knowledge, because all have a right to live, the right of self-preservation and developement.

To develop one's self, is to grow without obstacle, that is, freely to apply one's activity to all that toward which he is borne by an internal impulse, within the limits fixed by universal order; and right, always essentially inseparable from liberty, confounds itself with it when exercised.

No man belongs to another man. Are not all men equal by nature? Upon what ground then does one pretend to make others serve him? Each one, master of himself, has always the right to use his own powers in obedience to his own will: otherwise, instead of being what God has made him, a reasonable being, endowed with will, able to act or not to act, according to his own determination, he becomes a mere automaton. Now I ask you, is this man? Can you imagine a human being deprived of reason, or a reason without will, or a will without action, or an act that can be really his who does it if it depend not on him alone?

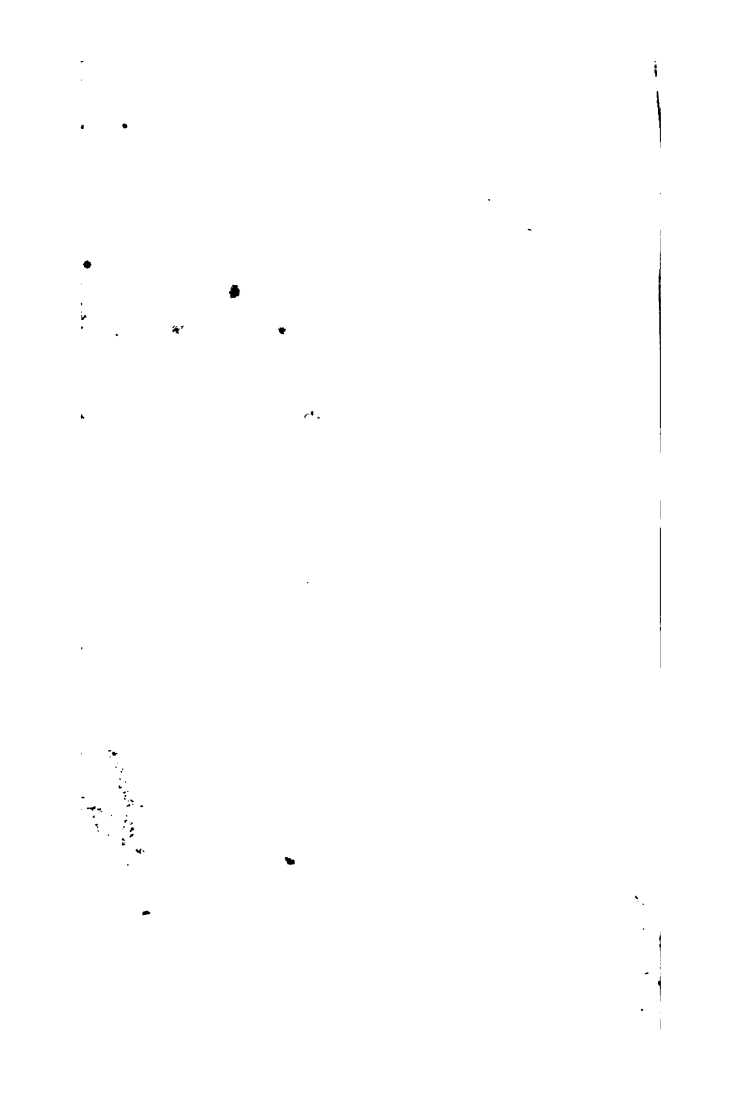
Thus liberty is right, and right is liberty.

With it, disappears all moral order. He who thinks not, believes not, does not, anything but what he is commended, of what merit is he capable, for what is he responsible? Neither true nor false, good nor evil, exist for him.

Good and evil imply choice, liberty; and liberty, subjected to the general conditions of order, which are those of existence itself, has its limits and its rules, not in human prescriptions, but in divine laws; for the body in physical laws, for the mind in the laws of justice and reason.

You have no master but God; and he wills you to be free, that you may be like him, and merit by your efforts, which he will aid from on high, to be one day fully united with him.

Praise, love to Him who has created man, and has made him so great that the innumerable worlds planted in space are but so many burning lights upon his route, of which the end, his only place of repose, is the source itself of all life, of all good, and of all perfection.



CHAPTER VI.

SUCH, in its nature, is right ; it is the conservative principle of the individual being, his own law. It may be violated, but will continually protest against violation ; and in connexion with man it is indestructible, because all would perish were it destroyed ; all creation would return to its original nothingness.

But man lives not alone ; God has not destined him to this solitary existence ; he preserves and developes himself in

society only, by union with his kind ; and the union of individuals constitutes nations ; and the union of nations constitutes mankind, or the universal family, which we should unceasingly labor to establish, because it will serve to diminish the evils arising from selfishness and augment the benefits strewed by Providence along our path, in the same proportion as our efforts are successful.

Observe a solitary tree upon the sea shore. Powerless against the winds, its trunk is bent, its branches are twisted and broken as they grow, and soon it withers and dies. So also with man. It suffices not that the root is moistened by the dews of heaven ; shelter and support must be also sought, and intermingling branches must aid in sustaining each other.

However a human association may originate, each of its members brings with him his right, such as we have explained it, and there preserves it unchanged and unchangeable; for right, I repeat, can be neither lost nor alienated; and these collective equal rights, the same for all, constitute the rights of the people, social rights; for the people are society, which subsists but by them, and without them could not exist a moment.

The people then, like the individual, have the right to live, the right of self-preservation and developement. Any attempt to divest them of this right is a violation of the laws of the Creator; and the greater the violation, the greater also are the evils it engenders.

And now, O people, tell me what has become of thy right in this world; tell

me what formerly was, what now is, thy laborious and overburthened life.

Formerly a slave, then for long ages a serf, always oppressed, always managed like a meadow that is mowed in the spring and again stripped in autumn, what advantage hast thou drawn from that which in mockery they have called thy enfranchisement?

Why thus painfully dost thou crawl along this earth, given as the heritage of all men indiscriminately, and over which all should proudly walk as rulers?

Why amid its spontaneous productions, which are many times multiplied by thy labor, dost thou so often groan in the anguish of hunger?

Why hast thou no shelter to protect thee from winter's cold and summer's heat?

Why lackest thou vestments to cover thy attenuated limbs while living, and a shroud to envelope them when thrown into that common ditch where for the first time they find repose?

The rain of heaven refreshes the humble plant concealed in a corner of the lowliest valley, as well as the tree that rears its lofty head on the mountain-top and spreads its branches afar.

Why seemest thou more abandoned by Providence than the worthless weed?

Why is it that, disquieted for the present day, fearing for to-morrow, thy domestic joys are changed into distracting cares? Why, at the table where the common father wills that all should sit, is thy cup filled only with troubled wine?

Why, absorbed from childhood in bodily labor, art thou not permitted to receive some feeble rays of the light that nourishes the mind? Why rises not the star of science above the horizon of that dark world to which you have been banished?

We cannot expect exemption from pain in this world. Want, even suffering, in exciting our activity, are conditions of the common progress. Nor, although equal in rights, do all men possess equal faculties, nor are they born in circumstances equally favorable to their development; and this inequality, whence results, with different inclinations, particular aptitudes to the divers functions which involve the existence of society, contributes to the general good.

But all ought to participate in this good. Nor is it the general good unless

it is the good of the greatest number, the good of the people, and not alone of some individuals or classes. If one man overflow with riches, all the rest remaining poor, would his riches be called the common wealth ?

Now, almost every where the enjoyment of the goods naturally destined for all, has been the lot of a few. And the few, holding the people in subjection, and forgetting the sentiment of fraternity, have treated them like those animals they attach to the plough through the day, and leave to the stable and a handful of straw through the night.

They have the power to treat the people thus, they have the power to keep them in servitude, ignorance, misery and abasement, because, masters of society, and organizing it at their will, look-

ing only to their own advantage, they have taken from the people the means of defending their personal interests by despoiling them of their political rights, by depriving them of all participation in the making of the laws or the administration of the common affairs, and by reducing them to a simple passive obedience.

Most of the evils now abounding in the world, spring from this source; nor can we hope for any amelioration of them so long as this iniquitous violation of natural equality continues.

CHAPTER VII.

PEOPLE, listen to what has been said to thee and hear to what thou hast been compared.

Thy masters have said that thou art a flock, and that they are its shepherds: thou the brute; they, the men. To them then belong thy fleece, thy milk, thy flesh. Be quiet then under their crook, and multiply, to warm their limbs, quench their thirst, and satisfy their hunger.

They have also said that the royal power is that of a father over his children always minors, always under guardianship. Without liberty and without property, the people, always incapable of reason, incapable of distinguishing between good and evil, the useful and the hurtful, live in an absolute dependence on the prince, who disposes of them and of all things according to his own pleasure. Servitude and misery still.

Some recognize force alone as the arbiter of society. The stronger the might, the greater the right. Poor people, you are trampled on, oppressed ; it is the fate of the weak ; of what do you complain ? In the simplicity of your hearts you ask of tyranny its titles. Can it be that you do not see them everywhere ? Can you not see those bayonets glittering in the sun, those cannons pointed towards the public squares ?

Others have imagined that power belongs of right to some races of a more perfect nature; or, that God has conferred it either upon some individuals chosen for certain particular ends, or it may be to some families destined to possess it perpetually. The people then perpetually owe to them a blind, an entire obedience. For, the will of the chief, established by God, being to his subjects the will of God himself, must always be supposed to be just; and no abuse, no excess, nor crimes the most enormous, can authorize the people to break the yoke of its oppressive power.

— They have called this the divine right.

People, shut your ears to these lies. Leave the impious blasphemer of the Father of mankind, and learn to know his true laws, to know your own rights, that you may recover them.

All men are born equal, and consequently independent of each other: no one, on coming into the world, brings with him a right to command. Were each one originally bound to obey the will of another, there could exist no moral liberty, nor free choice of action; there could exist neither crime nor virtue, for virtue depends upon free choice between good and evil.

Now personal independence and sovereignty are but one and the same thing; and that which makes man free as regards man, or sovereign of himself, is that which makes him a moral being, responsible to God, capable of virtue. Sublime attribute of intelligence, the sovereignty of himself, or liberty, forms the essential characteristic that distinguishes him from the brute which is subjected to fate, and by it impelled in the

sphere of its blind existence, like the celestial bodies in their rigorously determined orbits.

No man can alienate his sovereignty, because he cannot abdicate his nature or cease to be a man; and from the sovereignty of each individual in society arises the collective sovereignty of all, or the sovereignty of the people, which is equally inalienable.

When men are brought together by sympathy, and become associated on the principle of mutual aid and common labor, upon whom does this association depend, if not solely upon itself?

All bring to it equal rights, with unequal faculties and different aptitudes.

Their relations, founded upon the invincible instinct that impels them to unite

and upon the advantages of the union, depend upon their free consent and the laws which they impose on themselves. No one can be engaged against his will ; and when the common desire to unite under certain conditions has created the people, the will of the people or the general will of the society, in so far as it does not conflict with justice and charity, or with moral order which is essential and immutable, constitutes the law. Thus, far from destroying or even altering primitive liberty, law is but the exercise of that liberty, directed by the reason of all toward an end useful to all.

But if one or some few attempt to substitute their particular will for the common will, their prescriptions, whatever they may be, will not be laws, but violations of the very principle of law, acts illegitimate and subversive of all true society.

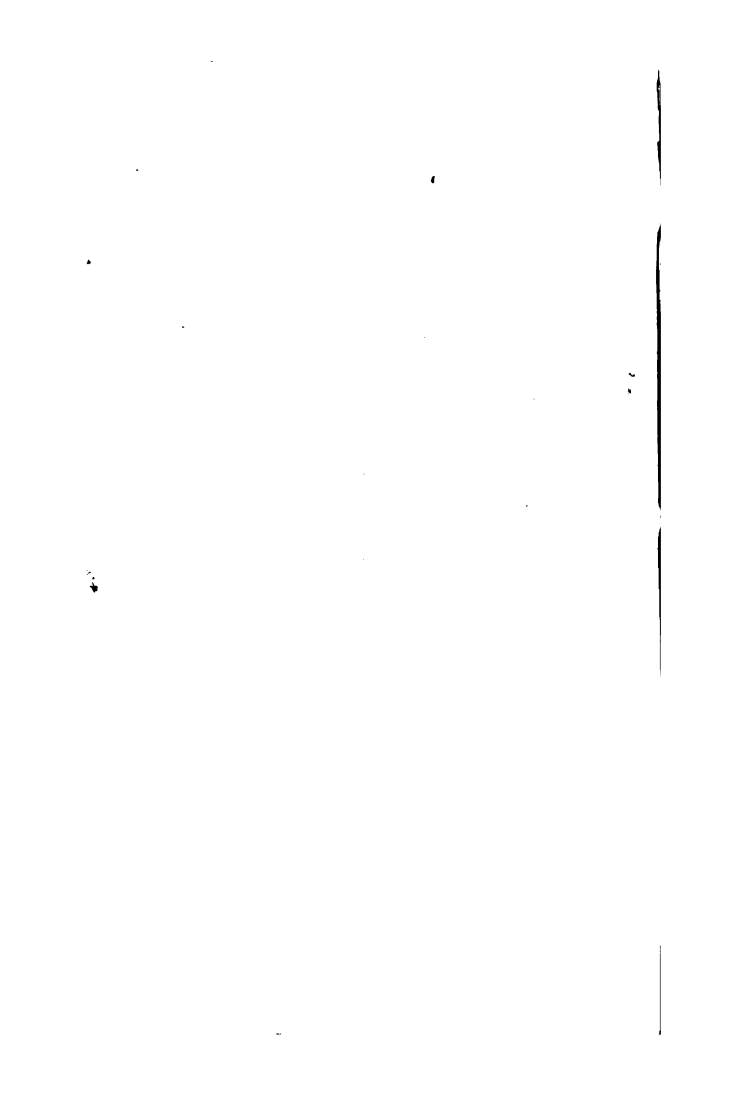
When equality, the natural basis, is subverted in the organization of the state, when the legislative authority is exclusively vested in certain privileged classes, when that authority is made an attribute of birth or wealth, then there is disorder and tyranny; for the true association is changed into domination. The few command, and why? The others obey, and why? Who has subjected the latter to the former? Who has said to some: Your brothers yield themselves into your hands; be their masters, and dispose of them and of that which is theirs, of their labor and the produce of their labor, as you please?

A law, in the making of which the
people have had no share, which eman-
ated not from them, is null.

They talk to you of the sovereign, of the prince, of the public authorities : they deceive you with words. I have already told you, the sovereign is you, is the people, essentially free. The power, whether it be exercised by one or many, is derived from the people. Simply an executor of the law, or the will of the people, the prince has no other function. For that alone is he chosen, delegated,—not to command, but to obey ; if he cease to obey the people, they dismiss him as an unfaithful servant, and that is all.

You should also know this : When excess of suffering inspires you with the resolution to recover the rights of which your oppressors have despoiled you, they will accuse you of disturbing the peace, they will call you rebels. Rebels against whom ? There is no rebellion

possible except against the true sovereign, the people ; and how can the people be rebels against themselves ? The rebels are they who create iniquitous privileges for themselves at the people's expense ; they who, by stratagem or by force, subject the people to their rule ; and when the people break that rule, they do not disturb the peace, they re-establish it, — they accomplish the will of God, which is always just.



CHAPTER VIII.

You, who bear the burthens of the day, men of toil and of sorrow, poor disinherited children of this fruitful and beautiful earth,—when all awakening nature greets the approaching morn with smiles, when the little birds, shaking their dew-besprinkled wings, warble upon the branches the hymn of joy that is murmured by the insect in the grass,—why this sadness on your countenance, this silence on your lips? Why does not the soft light, opening like a heavenly

flower, and spreading from the east, forever dissipate the clouds upon your brow ?

* The bee has its hive to which it can retire, but you have no asylum that you can call your own ; the mite has its garment of silk for protection against the cold, but your limbs are naked ; under its native plant the meanest worm finds shelter and nourishment, but you want both.

It is not that Providence has been more unkind to you ; but that man has taken from you what God has given. What is left to you of that which He has lavishly bestowed on all ?

Your evils, once more, spring from the vices of society, diverted from its natural end by the selfishness of the few ;

nor will your condition ever improve so long as they alone make the laws. If you had any thing to hope from them, if they honestly desired and sought but the greatest good of all, would they elevate themselves above all? Would they reserve to themselves the exclusive administration of the affairs of all? Is it from a zeal for your interests that they exclude you from the care of those interests? Is it for themselves or for you, for their advantage or for yours, that they demand power? If for theirs, whence and by what title is this privilege? If for yours, it must then be because they judge you incapable of discerning for yourselves that which is good or evil. In their opinion, then, you are brutes.

We are all children of the same Father, who is God; and the common Father has not subjected brothers to brothers; he has not said to one: Command! and to

the other: Obey! To each other they owe mutual aid and succour, justice and charity, nothing more; and society, which has been rendered so burdensome to a large portion of the human race by insensate and disorderly passions, is in its essence, and ought in fact to be, nothing more than a union of forces and wills for the more certain attainment of the end of existence, nothing more than the organization of fraternity.

Were there kings, nobles, patricians and plebeians, before there were people? And if the people, free and equal, existed previously to all distinctions, then all distinctions, if not the fruit of violence and robbery, are derived from the people, from its independent will, its imperishable sovereignty. Nothing legitimate can come from any other source. Patrician dignity, nobility, royalty, in a word,

all prerogative that claims to be self derived and independent of the will and sovereignty of the people, is an encroachment upon society, a revolutionary usurpation, a germ of tyranny.

The people make no classes, create no privileges; they delegate duties; they confide some functions to these, some to those; they charge their functionaries with the execution of their decisions, of that which they have determined for the common good, according to the fundamental laws which they have established and retain to themselves the power to modify.

Hypocrites, who call yourselves christians, open the christian law, and there you will read: "The princes of the
"Gentiles exercise dominion over them;
"and they that are great exercise author-

“ity upon them. But it shall not be so
 “among you : but whosoever will be
 “great among you, let him be your min-
 “ister ; and whosoever will be chief
 “among you, let him be your servant.”

Then, to whomsoever shall dare call himself your master, reply : No.— Suffer not yourselves to be oppressed by men of violence, nor deceived by them who preach servitude to you in the name of God, who endeavor to plunge you into stupidity and ignorance, and then say : The people want understanding and reason ; they know not how to conduct themselves ; their interest requires that they should be governed.

It is on the contrary your right that no one govern you, that no one impose laws upon you at his pleasure ; that the laws emanate from you alone ; that the depos-

itary of public power exercise a simple revocable office; that he be your *servant*, and nothing more.

When you have recovered your right, if you use it wisely, the world will change its appearance; there will be fewer tears, and those few will be less bitter. The contrast between extreme opulence and extreme indigence will gradually cease to afflict humanity. Hunger, wan and sad, will no longer take its seat at your fireside. All will have food for body and mind. Shared as they ought to be among brothers, the gifts of Providence will multiply by the very division. Weeping children will no longer vainly demand of their father, when he returns in the evening exhausted with fatigue, the bread they lack; nor will they raise their innocent little hands to heaven, except to bless it for its gifts.

The smile will again appear on maternal lips ; and the old man full of days, when he sees the setting sun, half veiled by clouds, gilding with its last rays the yellow leaves and fading flowers of autumn, will rejoice in the confident and mysterious presentiment of a new morning and a new spring.

CHAPTER IX.

It is not enough that you know your rights ; you must also know your duties ; for the practice of duty is not less necessary than the enjoyment of right to the maintenance of that order willed by God, and without which you have nothing to hope in this world.

Right is the guaranty of your individual existence and liberty ; it is your liberty itself ; it makes you a person, and not a mere thing to be used according to the caprice of the first comer.

But is it all, to exist? Is it all, to be free? In the whole universe no being lives entirely isolated, resting upon itself, nourished by itself alone. They all give to receive, they receive to give, and life would every where cease were it not for this mutual and incessant giving of all to each and of each to all.

Who could entirely dispense with the assistance of others? We need it in infancy, we need it in sickness, we need it in age, we need it on all occasions and at all times. Picture to yourself a solitary man, unconnected with his kind, receiving nothing from others, returning nothing to them; he would be the savage in the woods; he would be less than the savage, for the savage lives in his family, in society; he would be even less than the animal who has his mate and his little ones with whom he reciprocates.

creates offices of kindness, and often also associates with others of the same species either for mutual defence or for common labor. A man isolated from all others, necessarily from that moment deprived of language, intelligence and love, would be in the bosom of creation a sort of monster, without origin, without tie, without name, an undefinable something that would be regarded with terror.

Now, if sympathy, if instinct bring together animals according to laws proper to them, duty unites free and morally responsible beings. It is the basis of society, the indispensable condition of common existence.

Right concentrates each one in himself; for, its immediate end being the preservation of the individual, all right, by its nature, is individual; and the people,

in this connexion, are but a collective individual. To claim a right, is to demand something for one's self. Mere right, separated from duty, would be mere selfishness, and consequently, according to the old axiom, supreme injustice. What is injustice, in fact, save the absolute preference of one's self to all others, or the sacrifice of all others to one's self? To commit murder, robbery, any crime whatever, is but that; it is to sacrifice others to passion, to avarice, to exclusive individual interest.

Duty, on the contrary, withdraws one's attention from himself; for its end is the good, the preservation of all. To accomplish a duty, is to do something useful to others. Pure duty is pure devotedness, or love and justice supreme. What is justice, indeed, what is love,

save the preference of others to one's self, or the sacrifice of one's self for others?

Right is sacred, since it is the conservative principle of the individual, the primitive element of society, and its necessary foundation.

Duty is sacred, since it is the conservative principle of society, without which no individual could develop himself, nor even subsist.

Ah! how happy would the world be, and how rapidly would the human race advance in the path it should incessantly pursue, were right always respected, and duty always fulfilled!

This marvellous order, these beautiful and touching harmonies that so much de-

light us in nature, whence come they? From the fact that everything is in its place, and is there maintained invariable. Every created being, regularly and punctually obedient to the general laws as well as to those peculiar to itself, faithfully discharges the function assigned by the Creator. From the sun, whence pour inexhaustible floods of light and life, down to the spring that drop by drop exudes from the rock, all is ordered for a given end, to which all contribute in an infinite variety of ways, that are the more admired the more they are contemplated. There is not an action, a movement in the universe, that does not successively contribute to the growth of a tuft of moss; and innumerable worlds, after having like that moss passed through the phases of their development, are like it decomposed, and become nourishment for succeeding worlds.

There is no creature whose existence does not depend on other creatures. Their subsistence requires among themselves an incessant transfusion of their being. What is it to live? To receive. What to die? To give. The first condition of life is a sacrifice, a perpetual and universal communion.

That which is done through a blind but fatal and irresistible impulse by unreasoning brutes, man ought to do freely. He ought, in subordination to the whole body of which he is a member, to love his brothers as himself, to desire their good as he desires his own, to rejoice in their joy, to grieve for their sorrows, to aid them, serve them, identify himself with them, devote himself for them, and thus endeavor, by a constantly extending union among both individuals and nations, to consummate the holy unity of all mankind.

CHAPTER X.

Duty extends to all beings; for all have their place in the universe; all discharge, according to the will of the Supreme Wisdom, functions which it is forbidden to disturb; and all have a right to the enjoyment of the divine gift. To destroy one single being by mere caprice, or to inflict on him needless suffering, is a wrong, an act opposed to the laws of order.

Respect God in the least of his works,
and let your love, like his, embrace all
that live and breathe.

If, by giving intelligence to man, He
has made him the lord of creation, He
has not willed that he should be its ty-
rant. His eye, which nothing escapes,
has also a paternal regard for the poor
sparrow palpitating under your hand.

Without duty no society is possible, for
without it there can be no relations be-
tween men. As you have seen, it com-
prises justice and charity.

Not to do to others that which you
would not desire others to do to you, is
justice.

To do unto others on all occasions, as
you would have them do to you, is charity.

A man lived by his labour, — himself, his wife, and his little ones ; and as he had good health and strong arms, and easily found employment, he met with no great difficulty in providing subsistence for himself and those who were dear to him.

But it happened that the country experienced great commercial and financial difficulties, and the demand for labor diminished because it could no longer be profitably employed, and meanwhile the necessities of life increased in price.

The laborer and his family began to suffer. Having exhausted his moderate savings, he was compelled first to sell his furniture piece by piece, and then articles of clothing, and when all had thus gone, having no other resources, hunger stared him in the face. Nor did hunger enter his cottage unattended : sickness came with it.

Now this man had two neighbors, the one very rich, the other less so.

He went to the first and said : We are in want of the necessities of life, myself, my wife and my children : have pity on us.

The rich man replied : What can I do in the case ? When you labored for me, did I either refuse or defer payment ? I have never wronged you, nor any one : my hands are pure from all iniquity. Your sufferings afflict me, but every one must look out for himself in these hard times : who knows how long they will last ?

The poor father answered not, but, with an aching heart, was slowly returning to his desolate home, when he met his other neighbor who was less rich.

The latter, seeing that he was pensive and sad, thus accosted him: What is the matter with you? There are cares upon your brow, and tears in your eyes.

The father, with a faltering voice, explained to him his unhappy situation.

When he had finished: Why, said the other to him, do you grieve so much for this? Are we not brothers? And how can I abandon my brother in his distress? Come and share with me that which I hold from the goodness of God.

The suffering family was thus sustained until they could themselves provide for their own wants.

After several years had passed the two rich men appeared together before the sovereign Judge of human actions.

And the Judge said to the first: My eye has followed thee on the earth ; thou hast abstained from injuring others, from violating their rights; thou hast rigorously fulfilled the strict law of justice ; but, in fulfilling it, thou hast lived only for thyself ; thy impenetrable soul has not comprehended the law of love. And now, in this new world where thou enterest poor and naked, it shall be done to thee as thou hast done to others. Thou hast reserved for thyself all the goods that have been lavished on thee ; thou hast given nothing to thy brothers ; neither shall any thing be given to thee. Thou hast thought but of thyself, thou hast loved but thyself: go, and in solitude live of thyself.

Then, turning toward the second, the Judge said to him : Because thou hast not been just alone, but charity has penetrated thy heart ; because thy hand has

been open to scatter among thy less happy brethren the wealth of which thou wert the depositary, that the tears of them that wept might be wiped away — greater good shall be given to thee. Go, and receive the recompense of them that have fully accomplished their duty, the law of justice and the law of love.



CHAPTER XI.

THERE are duties of many kinds, general duties and particular duties. The first form the universal bond that connects all men ; the latter are derived from the various relations that nature and society establish between them.

Interrogate the reason that no prejudice has warped, and the conscience that neither interest nor passion has corrupted ; they will reply to you that man is sacred to man ; that to attack him in his

person, his liberty, his property, is to overthrow the basis of order, to violate the moral laws, the conservators of mankind ; it is to commit one of those acts which, in all ages, among all people, have received the terrible name of crime.

There is a voice without you, immutable, eternal, and another within you ; and these two voices say :

Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not stain the virtue of the wife nor the modesty of the young virgin ; even thy thoughts should be pure from these abominations.

He who sheds his brother's blood, is cursed on earth, and cursed in heaven.

And cursed also is he who, either by stratagem or violence, takes from another

his liberty, or any portion of his lawful possessions; who introduces disorder into a family, with its consequences, shame, discord, anguish of heart, distrust, hatred, and often ruin.

The plants of the fields stretch out their roots near to each other in the soil that nourishes them, and all grow there in peace. No one absorbs the sap of another, nor blasts its flower, nor corrupts its perfume. Why is man less beneficent toward man ?

Banish evil thoughts and desires from your hearts ; for to indulge the thought and desire of evil, is to have already accomplished the evil.

There are words that kill ; watch therefore over your tongue, and never allow it to be soiled by calumny and evil speaking.

Envy, anger, vengeance, hatred, consume the mind in which they are harbored, and that tormented mind is perpetually as if at work to bring forth murder.

Has any one offended you, forgive as you would be forgiven. Who needs not forgiveness? Who can say: No one can rightfully complain of me.

Let your words be always true, and without prevarication; let them never be such as to wound the ear of modesty, or lessen the respect due from man to man, and that which every man owes to himself.

Man ought also to avoid all that degrades and debases him by assimilating him to the brute; all sensual excesses, those fatal habits, destructive to body and mind, that convert the express image of

God into an object of disgust and abhorrence.

We have two natures, the animal and the angelic ; and we should subject the one, that the other may reign alone, until that moment when it shall be freed from its cumbrous envelope, and take its flight toward higher and better worlds.

Thus doing, you injure no one, you are just ; but yet other duties, important and sacred duties, will remain to be fulfilled.

Is he who has simply abstained from evil, who has done his neighbor no wrong nor any good, excused toward him, and perfect before God ? By depositing in our hearts the germs of love, pity, and all the sympathetic sentiments, has not our heavenly Father commanded us to

practice other, more elevated, and more fruitful virtues ?

See that poor human creature lying at the corner of the street, fainting from want, or disabled by accident. A man observes her, pities her, and passes on. "Am I the cause," says he to himself, "of the poor creature's misfortune, and who has confided her to my charge ? It is enough for me to take care of myself." Another also observes her, and his soul is moved within him. He approaches, takes her in his arms, carries her into his house, lays her upon his couch, and carefully tends her as a brother his brother, or a friend his friend.

Which of these two men has most truly fulfilled duty ?

There will always be suffering on the earth, and that suffering ought always to be alleviated.

Is your brother an hungered—you owe him the food he needs; is he naked, destitute of a roof, a home—you owe him clothing and shelter; sick, you owe him attendance. He is your flesh, for you are all members of the same body, and should be animated by the same soul; treat him then as your own flesh.

There are many kinds of weakness and of deprivation; and all weakness claims protection; all deprivation, help. Without this, I ask, what would human society be? What would the world be? What would become of those whom infirmity, poverty, isolation, age, simplicity of mind, deliver up an easy prey to the snares of the wicked?

Oppose injustice to others with the same firmness and constancy as if it were offered to yourself. Put forth your

hand between the oppressor and the oppressed. Your brother is you, and when he is oppressed are you not also oppressed ?

Let the orphan find in you a father, the widow and the old man a support, the stranger a hospitable host ; be eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame.

Speak to the afflicted in those affectionate terms which temper the bitterness of tears. There are no sufferings that sympathy will not soothe. The sorrows of life are dissipated by the rays of fraternal love, as autumnal frosts are melted by the rising sun of morn.

He who gives wise counsel, prudent warning, or useful instruction, at the proper time, gives that which is more valuable than gold ; and to communicate

knowledge, to diffuse science, is to sow seed for the nourishment of successive generations.

Think no effort too great to preserve peace ; peace, the foundation of all good, is also its crown. Support others that they also may support you. Have we not all our faults, our weaknesses, our froward moments ? Patience gradually softens the rudest asperities. You should suffer nothing to exhaust yours, neither irritating language nor provoking vivacity. Be like the vine, whose juice is sweeter the stronger the land in which it grows.

Respect the life, the liberty, the property of others :

Aid others to preserve and develop life, liberty, property :

These two precepts comprise, substantially, the duties of justice and charity. The detail of them would be endless, for they embrace all the thoughts, all the sentiments, all the actions of man, and the whole are summed up in a single precept, the divine precept of love. Love, and do what you will, for you will desire to do nothing that is not just and good. Love, said the sovereign Master, and you will fulfil the whole law.

CHAPTER XII.

BESIDE the general duties, there exist also others that are particular ; and first, those of family.

The family is as permanent as society, of which it is the primitive element. The relations by which it is constituted, anterior to positive laws, spring directly from nature itself. A being incapable of reproduction is incomplete : woman is therefore the complement of the man. They suppose each other, forming in two

bodies one identic unity, and the children proceeding from them are in reality but a continuation of their common being ; the parents live again in them, and, by successive generations, perpetuate themselves indefinitely.

Consequently, marriage is not an arbitrary institution ; it is the physical and moral union of one man with one woman, by which union both are mutually rendered complete ; and every attack upon marriage, its unity, its sanctity, is a violation of the laws of nature, an insensate revolt against the Creator, a source of innumerable evils and disorders.

Abject and licentious doctrines, destructive of the conjugal tie, have been often spread abroad in the world. Reject with horror and disgust these hideous teachings of depraved minds, that would

degrade man to the level of the brute, and even below the brute ; for we plainly perceive in several species of animals a faint shadow of that which becomes, when more ennobled, the holy union upon which the perpetuity of the human race depends.

Give yourself no reason to blush before the chaste and faithful dove, nor degrade the sacred character imprinted on your brow by the finger of God.

Between man and woman, husband and wife, the rights are equal, the aptitudes and functions different.

The woman is not the servant of the man, much less his slave ; she is his companion, his assistant, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. In proportion as the moral sense becomes developed

among a people, she increases in dignity and in liberty ; in that sort of liberty that is not exemption from duty and order, but enfranchisement from all servile dependence.

Husband, you owe to your wife respect, love, protection ; wife, you owe to your husband respect, love, deference. By giving him greater strength, God has charged him with the ruder and more laborious employments ; in giving you gentleness, tenderness and grace, he has imparted to you that which alleviates the burthens of life, converting even labour into an inexhaustible source of pure joys.

Are not all his toils and fatigues instantly forgotten when your hand wipes the sweat from his brow ? When his soul is sad and his mind distracted with cares, does not a word or a look from you

restore calm to his heart and smiles to his lips ?

The solitary man is a reed yielding none but plaintive sounds to the various winds by which it is agitated.

For you, nature is full of instruction : the feeblest creature will teach you, if you will but open your eyes. When, lashed by winter winds, the vexed waves roar and foam, the poor sea-bird and her companion, taking refuge in the hollow of a rock, nestle together, yielding shelter and imparting warmth to each other. Life has many tempests : take example from the sea-bird, and you need fear neither freezing winds nor the surges they raise.

But the design of marriage is not solely to render life more easy and pleas-

ant to the married pair: its principal end is to perpetuate the great human family by the re-production of individuals.

Fathers, mothers, who can express the ineffable joy with which you were elated when, pressing to your bosoms the first fruits of your love, you felt in it a renewal of your own being?

New duties are then added to those originally destined to cement the union of husband and wife. Otherwise what would become of the feeble creatures to whom they have given existence? The mother owes to them the nourishment, the assiduous care, the indefatigable devotion, upon which depends their early preservation. From the father, they claim tenderness, protection, food and clothing; his duty it is, to provide for all their

wants until they attain ability to provide for themselves.

Now, how can he provide for them if he abandon himself to idleness and sloth, or if, ruled by his appetites, he dissipate the daily product of his labor in ministering to them ?

He who is drawn by passion and habitude into such irregularities, what is he but a murderer of his offspring ? Know you what he drinks from the goblet that shakes in his trembling hand ? He quaffs the tears, the blood, the life, of his wife and his children.

In their care for their young, animals forget themselves: would you descend in brutishness lower than the beasts of your forests ?

Believe not that you have fulfilled all your duties toward your children when you shall have furnished them with nourishment for the body. You must make them men; and what is man, if not a moral and intelligent being? Let them learn of you, then, to discern good from evil,—to love and do the one, to detest and avoid the other.

Correct their faults, without anger or brutal violence, but with a calm and affectionate firmness. Take care to let them find nothing but bitterness in the paths of vice.

Cultivate and develop in them, from their earliest infancy, those elevated instincts of our nature upon which social existence is founded, the sentiments of justice and order, of pity and of charity.

The instruction received upon a mother's knees, the early lessons of a kind father, mingled with sweet and pious remembrances of the domestic hearth, are never entirely effaced from the mind.

Nor imagine that precepts are all; they are nothing without example. Whatever may be your counsels and exhortations, they will produce no effect unless your conduct correspond.

The moral character of your children will always tend toward assimilation with yours; they will incline to virtue or vice according as you yourself are virtuous or vicious.

How can you hope that they will be upright, compassionate, humane, if you are wanting in probity, if you have no

feeling for your brothers? How should they learn to repress their grosser appetites, if they see you given up to intemperance? How preserve their native innocence, if in their presence you fear not to outrage modesty by indecent acts or obscene words?

You are the living model upon which their flexible nature will form itself. On you it depends to make them men or brutes.

And this, also, understand. We are all born in ignorance, and the effect of ignorance is misery and abasement. He who knows nothing, what is he, what can he be, in the world? For what is he fitted? He has only his arms, has only a simple material instrument, to him an almost useless appendage; for physical power has no value except that

derived from the intelligence by which it is directed. An ignorant man is therefore little more than a mere machine in the hands of those who use it for their own personal interest. Now, wish you that such should be the condition of your children? Do you wish that, sunk below the dignity of man, they should forever vegetate in servile and almost fruitless labor, like the ox that ploughs his furrow for the profit of the master who excites and guides him?

Yet, returning from the field, the ox is sure of finding food and shelter; and hast thou this assurance, poor people whose life each day depends upon the uncertain labor of the day?

You owe, then, instruction to your children as you owe them bread,—food for the mind as well as food for the body.

It is true that, in the present sad state of society, this duty is often difficult to accomplish. Material wants so besiege you that you can hardly have another thought; and too many men believe it for their interest that you and yours should remain deprived of the light which might aid you to free yourself from dependence on them, not to render it for you, as far as possible, an inaccessible fountain.

Meanwhile your duty subsists, limited only by the possibility of accomplishment; and few obstacles are insurmountable to a firm will. There is great power in the consciousness of duty.

Fathers, mothers, such are the duties that God has imposed on you toward your children. Children, learn also what are your duties toward your pa-

rents ; for, only in remaining faithful to them can you be happy.

Honor, love the father who gave you life, the mother who has cherished you in her bosom. Is there a being more accursed than he who rends the ties of love and respect established by God between him and them from whom he received his being ?

You are to your parents sources of great care. Are not all your wants continually before their eyes, and are they not compelled to incessant efforts for their supply ? During the day they toil for you ; and often while you sleep do they watch, that when you ask for bread on the morrow they may not be obliged to reply : Wait, there is none.

If you cannot now share their labor, endeavor at least to render it less hard

by the care you take to please, to aid them, according to your age, with a truly filial tenderness.

You lack experience and reason ; you should therefore be guided by their experience and their reason ; and thus, according to natural order and the will of God, you ought to obey them, to listen to their counsels, their precepts, with a docile ear. Do not the little ones even of animals regard their parents, and readily obey when they are called, or checked, or warned of something hurtful to them ? Do, then, from duty what they do by instinct.

Has God given you brothers, sisters : let nothing ever disturb the peace between you, nor the mutual affection you owe. You are of the same blood, and the same milk has nourished you ;

and can there be a stronger, a more sacred tie ? So act that every year shall bind you closer together. Our path upon earth is difficult and rough : that you may walk with confidence, that you may not stumble at every step, lean upon each other.

Many ruin themselves by a heedless choice of their friends and companions : connect yourselves only with those who walk in the right path, whose conduct is without reproach. Others than these will soon corrupt you by their conversation and example ; they will blight in you the delicate flower of innocence, which diffuses itself around youth as a sweet perfume.

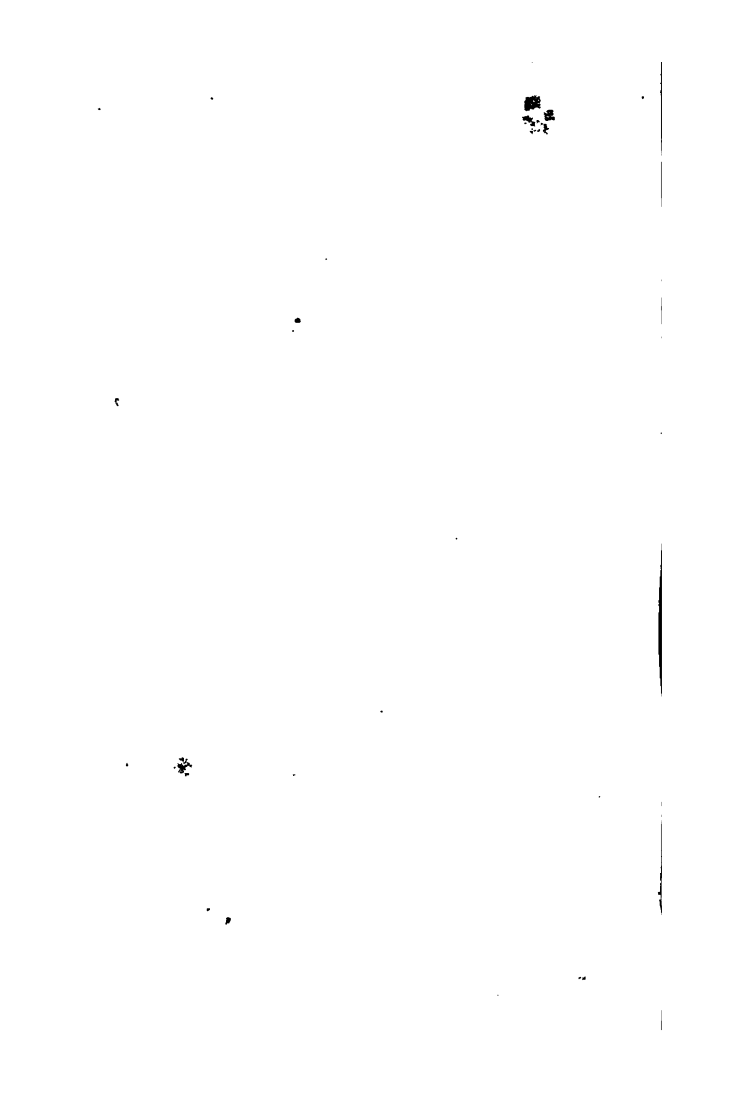
One easily yields to what is pleasing, to inclinations that should be incessantly opposed and repressed ; but after

the fault come regret, remorse and pain. When you have done wrong, do you not feel a secret uneasiness, a great unhappiness, in yourself? A disorderly life engenders suffering; and a sorrow is always hidden at the bottom of each forbidden joy. Calmness, on the contrary, serenity, unvarying contentment, are the lot of the pure conscience. It resembles the sparrow sweetly reposing in its nest, while the tempest abroad bends and breaks the tops of the forest.

There comes a time when life declines, the body becomes feeble, the strength decays: children, this is the time to repay the cares received in your early years from your now declining parents. Whoever leaves his father and mother in their need, whoever looks with cold indifference upon their sufferings and deprivations, verily I say unto you his

name is written in the book of the sovereign Judge, among those of parricides.

And remember well this last word, all of you, fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters ; if there are upon earth true pleasures, real happiness, these pleasures and this happiness are found in the bosom of a well ordered family, whose members are strictly united by duty ; for happiness here below consists not in the uninterrupted enjoyment of that which men call goods, but in that mutual love which softens the evils inseparable from our present existence, together with the pleasing anticipation of a mysterious future felicity.



CHAPTER XIII.

THE social state, natural to man, establishes relations between families whence arises a new order of duties, duties toward one's country.

Our country is the common mother, the unity in which isolated individuals are merged and blended ; it is the sacred name that expresses the voluntary fusion of all interests into one sole interest, of all lives into one perpetually-enduring life.

And this fusion, the prolific source of inexhaustible blessings, the origin of a continual and otherwise impossible progress,—this fusion, the effect of which is indefinitely to increase the conservative force, the power of developement, productive energy, security, prosperity,—how is it effected? By the devotion of each to all, the sacrifice of self, in fine by love, which, stifling abject selfishness, accomplishes the perfect union of the members of the social body.

Now, you already know that the true society, founded upon the natural equality, is by its nature and can in fact be but the fraternal organization. Every other political institution, whatever may be its form, contains something that is illegitimate and fatal: illegitimate, because necessarily violating imprescriptible rights; fatal, because in violating

them it attacks the very foundations of order, and thus provokes intestine feuds, civil wars, which no power can hinder from breaking out sooner or later.

Your first duty toward your country, then, is to labor with untiring zeal to establish, in its entire integrity, the great and salutary principle of the absolute equality of rights, whence all public and private liberty emanates; to combat privilege incessantly until you shall have completely vanquished it.

To permit attacks upon the sole legitimate sovereignty, that of the people, a suspension of its exercise, a substitution of domination for free association, to bend the knee to a master, is to betray the holy cause of right and of humanity, to deny the name itself of country. The stall where beasts of service eat and sleep, is not a country.

If, under whatever pretext, you permit the establishment of categories among the essentially equal members of the community, the creation of classes invested with certain prerogatives to the exclusion of the rest of the people, you sanction a criminal usurpation of power by virtue of which they will arrogate to themselves the right of establishing similar categories, you basely sacrifice your own right and that of your brethren, you renounce for yourselves and for them the quality of man, you prostrate yourselves, on the ruins of the true society, at the feet of tyranny.

What is the object of the association of originally independent families? A stronger guaranty of equality and of liberty, the better assured reign of justice, the promotion of the common good by an organization of the common labor, by

a developement of the indefinite power of knowledge and action of which humanity contains the germ.

Now, what is necessary for this? Good laws. Would you then know what the laws are, observe by whom they are made. If they are framed by some few, they will be almost exclusively for the advantage of the few; if by all, they will be made for the good of all, in accordance with eternal principles, with elevated and fruitful sympathies, the sacred interests from which the social institution emanates. Give yourselves therefore no rest until all coöperate in the perfecting of the laws by the choice of those who make the laws.

You will then no longer be excluded from the administration of public affairs, nor delivered, without protection, into

the hands of those who now domineer over you ; you will no longer be chased from assemblies where your interests are discussed, upon whose decisions your very existence may depend, as a vile animal is driven from the presence of men ; you will no longer form a caste politically proscribed ; you will then indeed have a country.

And your country, in whose bosom all the different families are united, should have a place in your love above that of either one of those families. Otherwise, you would rend the tie by which they are all united ; you would treat the entire body as subordinate to one of its members ; you would, so far as your influence extends, destroy society by bringing it again under the influence of selfishness, which would annihilate its foundations.

To your country, then, belongs all that you are, and all that you have, your heart, your arm, your goods, and even your life. He who hesitates to die for her, is forever infamous.

At the same time you should remember that you ought to prefer mankind even to your country; for there are the same relations between countries as between families, and they involve the same duties. The human race is essentially one, and perfect order will never exist, the evils that desolate the earth will never entirely disappear, until nations, overthrowing the fatal barriers that separate them, form but one great and sole society.

Exclusive patriotism, that which is but the selfishness of nations, has not less fatal consequences than individual selfish-

ness : it isolates, it divides the inhabitants of different countries, and prompts them to mutual injury instead of mutual aid ; it is the father of that bloody and horrible monster called WAR.

What more opposed to nature and her laws than the name of stranger ? Do we not all call ourselves brothers ? And how can brothers be strangers ?

Justice and charity are due from the people of one country to those of another. The rights of each people should be respected, and assistance afforded when necessary either for defence against attacks or for re-conquering that of which they have been despoiled. The people that suffers its neighbors to be oppressed by another people, digs the grave of its own liberty.

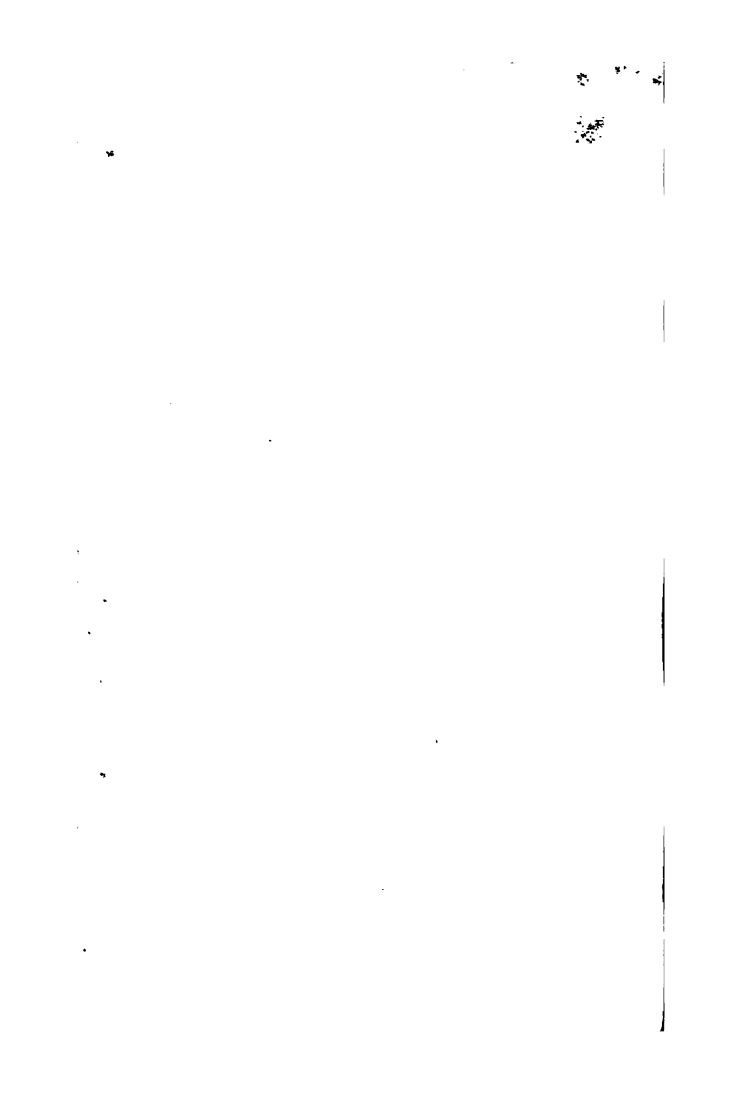
Employ then all your efforts for the reconciliation of differences between nations, for strengthening the bonds of union, and for the destruction of those prejudices which tend to prolong their separation. Each one of them, according to its genius, situation, climate, has its particular function assigned to it by Providence for the progressive improvement of humanity. Far from creating obstacles, all ought to second it, laboring as it does for all in laboring for itself. No one of them suffices for itself; they subsist and develop themselves by the assistance they mutually lend each other. It is not true, as repeated by those who deceive to enslave them, that they have opposing interests: they have not, unless it be accidentally, and by consequence of some disturbance of their natural relations. Re-establish those relations; the welfare of the one is the

welfare of the other, as, in a well-ordered family, the welfare of one of its members is the welfare of all, his prosperity their prosperity.

When rain falls in the region where the Nile has its source, the river swells and overflows, gradually covering the valley it enriches. That its fertilizing waters may reach the more distant lands, must they not first bathe those immediately on its banks?

Selfishness will always exist under one form or another; were not the sacred interests of entire humanity placed above the minor interests of persons and of nations, progress, arrested in every direction, could not be even imagined, for want of some ultimate object. Were not the whole human race its term, our love, like our devotion, blind, feeble,

imperfect, would every moment stray and fail. Individuals, families, nations, what are they but parts of a great whole? Otherwise there would be no reason for their being. Unity, ultimate and complete, in which all the relations are co-ordered, all rights centred, all duties harmonized, is man himself in the plenitude of his imperishable being.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE collective duties whence life flows, and the collective truths which are the eternal foundation of these duties, form that which is called Religion;—a bond of connexion between not only men, but all created beings.

Consequently, to deny religion is to deny duty: and since there exist true duties, there exists a true religion; and since the duties are by their nature unchangeable and universal, religion also is in its nature unchangeable and universal,

To fulfil duties, it is necessary to believe there are duties, and consequently to believe the truths on which they rest. Religion, then, implies faith, as its corner stone, as the indispensable condition of that moral life which is itself the condition of the existence of society and of mankind.

It is moreover primarily, necessarily, believed by mankind, by virtue of their very nature.

Mankind believe in a cause supreme, creative, infinite ; and the name of God, the thrice-holy name of Father of the universe, is found in every human language.

They believe in a beneficent Providence that directs all things, according to the laws of eternal wisdom and eternal love, to an end worthy of the Creator.

They believe that this Providence watches especially over man, enlightens, instructs, and guides him in the way that he should follow to accomplish his great and sublime destiny.

They believe in the essential distinction of good and evil ; in the liberty enjoyed by man of choosing between them, and of following the choice he may make ; in the inevitable reward or punishment of his works.

They believe, in fine, that beyond this short and laborious earthly existence, another and more perfect existence opens before man, and is prolonged to infinity in the depths of eternal duration.

Believe that which is believed by the whole human race.

Without these convictions, what would be duty ? How could we attain a concep-

tion of it ? Duty, is it not that which unites ? And what is union, if not the common tendency toward a common centre ? And what is this common centre of all beings, if it be not the infinite Being rigorously one, from whom all issue, to whom all return, who produces, preserves and vivifies all ? What is this, if not God ?

Woe then, woe to the atheist ! In his hunger, in his thirst, he implores the aliment, the milk that nourishes all creatures, and, in the depths of the gloomy void into which he has plunged, he seizes and presses but the withered breast of death.

To incline toward God, is to aspire to a union with him, and through him with all beings who equally incline toward him ; it is to aspire to the sovereign good,

to the sovereign perfection, and to labour continually for self-improvement.

Such also is the foundation of the doctrine of Christ : " Be ye perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect."

What is meant by this ? Can man then attain to the infinite perfection of God ? Assuredly not ; but, as much as is in his power, he ought always to approach nearer and nearer to that perfection. And thus his efforts have an aim, and he knows their aim ; and his life, like the life of the human race, in accordance with the law which should regulate its employment and direct its developement, is but a perpetual ascension toward the permanent principle of all life, a perpetual growth in God.

No union is possible without love ; for love is the very energy that accomplishes

the union. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind, with all thy soul and with all thy strength : — behold the first and chief commandment.

The second, derived from it, is like unto it : Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

He who loves not God above all things, loves but himself ; for he no longer has nor can have any other end, any other term, than himself.

He who loves not his neighbor as himself, loves not God, nor knows how to love him ; for in God all resolves itself by love into the perfect unity of his being.

Now, to love God is to desire him ; and prayer is the desire of the soul, the movement that impels it toward the object of

its love, which it desires to possess, and whose presence it implores. Thus prayer, the expression of love, is inseparable from it.

To love God, is also to give one's self to Him, to bury one's self in Him, to forget one's self in a certain sense, to become detached from one's self in order to be but one with Him ; it is to will that, and that only, which He wills, by the entire sacrifice of one's own will in so far as it does not conform to His ; and this self sacrifice, this act, by which, recognising His wisdom, justice, and supreme goodness, we inwardly protest that we are nothing and that He is all, constitutes the essence of that worship due to Him from his intelligent creatures, adoration in spirit and in truth.

And the love of your neighbor, is not it also devotion, sacrifice ? A voluntary

sacrifice replete with ineffable joys ? For by love one lives in him whom he loves, and this transfusion of life, which generalizes all sufferings and all enjoyments, incessantly dilates our being, thus assimilating all men to an individual who is in some manner purified by his constantly growing and always more intimate union with God.

In the accomplishment of this union man is aided by God himself, who lavishes upon him continual effusions of his power, his light, and his love, — which thus become the love, the light and the power of man ; for man can do nothing without God.

Confound not religion, which is essentially one and unchangeable, with the different external forms in which it is clothed. These, imperfect, weak, grow

old and pass away ; the work of man, they die like him. Time destroys the envelope of the divine principle, but it affects not the divine principle itself. When the body in which it was incarnated dissolves and falls into dust, it forms of itself a new and more perfect one, of which the preceding contained the germ.

Bless God for that you are born christians. Either there is no true religion, no tie connecting man with man, nor men with the eternal Author of all things, or christianity, the religion of love, of brotherly kindness, and of equality, whence we derive duty as well as right, *is the true religion*. Compare the christian with the other nations of the earth, and see how deeply humanity is its debtor : to it we owe the progressive abolition of slavery and servitude, the developement of the moral sense, and the

influence of this developement upon manners and laws, which have gradually become imprinted with a spirit of mildness and equity unknown before ; the marvellous conquests of man over nature, fruits of science and of the applications of science ; the advancement of public and individual well-being ; in a word, we are indebted to it for all the blessings that elevate our civilization so much above that of the ancients, and that of all whom the gospel has not yet enlightened.

Many evils have undoubtedly mingled with these innumerable benefits ; but the benefits proceed from christianity, whence they directly flow ; while the evils come from those who have perverted the doctrine of the Master, or violated his holy precepts ; they result from the inevitable imperfection of external forms, subjected

to the action of men and the necessities of times and occasions ; from the fact that they who have perverted christianity, attaching their terrestrial interests to the variable forms which are in many respects dependent on them, have gradually identified those forms with christianity itself, and thus rendered the immutable and imperishable soul subordinate to the changing and perishable body.

I say unto you, this disorder cannot endure, it is already approaching its termination ; and christianity, now buried under the material envelope that covers it like a winding-sheet, shall re-appear in all the splendor of unfading youth.

Apart from the mortal appendages with which it has been confounded, christianity is the first and last law of humanity ; for, beside God nothing can be proposed

as the goal of man ; nor is there any other way of approaching God, any other means of becoming united with Him, than by love ; nor will this great commandment of love ever be exhausted, either upon earth, where its effect will be to form of all individuals, all families, all people, one sole unity, that of the human race, — or in heaven, where it will find its accomplishment in the constantly more and more perfect union of all creatures with the Creator.

And thus what Christ said, is now and ever will be true : “ Come unto me, all you that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.”

And one day all will come unto him, and that day is not distant ; already it dawns in the bosom of futurity. We now walk as by a feeble twilight : when

the radiant star shall rise, the world, deluged with light, and feeling within itself, with the revival of hope, the revival also of faith and love, shall salute it with songs of joy.

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CHAPTER XV.

NEVER forget, that there can be no society, no life, without duty; and that religion, in its precepts, is but the rule of duty, while its doctrines are the collective truths that form the immutable and eternal basis of duty.

He then who declares himself without religion, declares himself a rebel against duty, without the sentiments, the unanimous beliefs of the universal instinct; he denies human intelligence and the

human conscience, his nature and the laws of his nature ; he denies society, he denies himself ; for without society how could he subsist ? What would he be ?

If each man owes nothing to any other man, then neither do others owe any thing to him. Perpetually, radically at war with them, as with all beings, he would present in the bosom of the universe the frightful union of unlimited desires with infinite impotence.

Can greater misery be imagined ?

The first fruit of duty, of its exact fulfilment, is on the contrary the actual enjoyment of a good above all other goods, internal calm, peace, sweet contentment, and that pure joy which sustains the soul amid the crosses of life, transporting and dilating it as in a better world.

Virtue is its own immediate reward, while vice engenders the punishment by which it is infallibly followed. Of how many cares, disquietudes, evils, is it not the source! Saw you ever the wicked happy? Wealth, power, may be their portion; but wealth and power are not happiness; and if you could know what hideous wounds are ordinarily concealed under vestments of silk and gold, were they to be suddenly unveiled before your eyes, you would recoil from them with horror.

Judge not from outward appearances. Certain poisonous plants spring only from the richest soil; they often sparkle with the most brilliant colors: open them, and what do they contain within? A black and infected powder.

In the evil and anti-christian society in which you live, it is not always sufficient

for prosperity to regulate your actions by the moral law. Nevertheless, obedience to that divine law never fails to bear its immediate fruit. Cast your eyes around you: observe that family whose members, faithful to duty, never stray from it; where the product of the common labor, consecrated to the supply of the common necessities, is never dissipated in shameful pleasures; where the father sets none but good examples; where the wife, occupied with domestic cares, devoted with tenderness to her husband and her children, receives from them equal tenderness and devotion in return. This family, undoubtedly, is not beyond the reach of poverty; who, however, would not prefer its destiny to that of a family more favored by fortune, but a prey to the disorder and misconduct of its members; where intestine quarrels, hatred and jealousy daily and hourly spring

from the violation of mutual duties? One respects the former, and feels attracted toward it by a sweet and affectionate sentiment; while he despises the latter, avoiding it as he would avoid a noxious reptile.

Oh! whoever may once penetrate the depths of a good man's heart, the heart of him who is animated with love toward his God and his fellow men, will there discover secret joys so vivid and so pure as to inspire him with disgust for all other joys.

Moreover, the first effect of duty is to diminish the evils of life, to sweeten its sorrows, and to mingle with all its griefs an order of ineffable enjoyments unknown to those who are governed by evil passions, or are by selfishness concentrated in themselves. Were this the only re-

ward attached to the performance of duty, would it not be sufficiently great ?

But duty, faithfully performed, produces yet another effect by the marvellous connexion of the laws that constitute order : it realizes RIGHT. People, it is by duty, solely by duty, that you can recover those rights of which injustice has despoiled you. Which of you could struggle alone against the power of your oppressors ? You would be broken like an earthen vessel. To succeed, you must be united ; and what union is possible if love be not the tie, — if, entirely submissive to the law of duty, each one, devoting himself to his brothers, is not ready to die for them ?

You have first to re-conquer your dignity as men, the free exercise of your inalienable sovereignty. Now, for that

what is required ? A common will and a common effort ; that is to say, a consciousness of the rights of others as well as of your own rights, a perfect fusion of all interests into one sole interest. Otherwise it would not be a right but a privilege that you would claim, and you would then have to encounter those who oppose privileges and those who are already in the enjoyment of them.

If then you love not your brother as yourself, no hope of enfranchisement ; be resigned to serve always : that is all you have to expect.

But if each one of you, on the contrary, loves his brother as himself, he will not suffer him to be oppressed ; he will in all cases aid him against unrighteous force, and thus from universal charity will spring universal resistance to oppression.

He who attacks only injustice will sooner or later triumph. That triumph may be certain, aim then at nothing but what is just. Respect the rights even of them who have trampled yours under their feet. Let the safety, the liberty, the property of all without exception be held sacred by you; for duty extends equally to all. Let violation of duty once commence, where will it stop? Disorder is not to be remedied by disorder. Of what are you accused by your enemies? Of wishing only to substitute your domination for their domination, that you may abuse your power as they have abused theirs; of cherishing thoughts of vengeance, projects of tyranny; and thence vague fears arise in men's minds of which they artfully take advantage to prolong your servitude.

Dissipate these sinister phantoms, evoked by detestable impostors to intimi-

date simple and good men, and divert their attention from the means of deliverance. Proclaim duty whenever you proclaim right; separate them not in yourselves; let them be always united in your conscience and in your acts. The greatest obstacle to that which you desire, and ought to desire, will then vanish.

You have also to procure for yourselves the means of an easier and less precarious existence,—to combat hunger, to manage your affairs in such a way as to insure to your wives and your children the necessities of life, which, among all of God's creatures, never fail but to man alone. Now, why do they fail to you? Because others absorb the fruit of your labor and fatten upon it. And whence comes this evil? From the fact that each one of you, deprived in your isolation of the means of establishing and

sustaining a real concurrence between capital and labor, is delivered over, without protection, to the avidity of your employers. How will you escape from this fatal dependence? By union, by association. That which cannot be done by one, may be done by ten, and still better by a thousand.

The solitary beaver lives with great difficulty in the first hiding-place he can find upon the river's banks; associated with others of his kind, he builds commodious dwellings across the stream, where they all live in abundance.

But no association is possible, none can prosper, unless based upon mutual confidence, probity, and the moral conduct of its members, as well as upon a wise economy. Injustice and bad faith, idleness and intemperance, will imme-

diately dissolve it. Instead of producing unity of action, it would become a permanent source of discords and enmities. The rigorous practice of duty is, then, an indispensable condition of association. Indeed, duty is its principal generator, from which it springs spontaneously ; for, in reality, what is it if not fraternity itself, organized for the more sure and complete attainment of its end ? He who loves only himself,—thinks only of himself,—with whom can he associate ? And how can we conceive that the cause of separation can ever become a cause of union ? The terms are contradictory.

You may say : It is true, association would afford a powerful remedy for our evils ; but will they who profit by our evils suffer us to adopt the remedy ? They will obtrude their laws between each one of us and his brethren, all our

efforts to approach each other will be vain, and the violences that they will infallibly provoke against us will aggravate our misery.

But I say to you: Express but your will, and iniquitous laws must instantly disappear, while the violence of your oppressors will exhaust itself against your just and inflexible firmness. No power can resist a union of right and duty.

Remember the beaver. You are dispersed along the banks of the stream: assemble together, establish a mutual understanding, and you will soon have an immovable dam to oppose to its deep and rapid waters.

CHAPTER XVI.

You now know the true laws of humanity, the laws upon which depends its progress, and consequently the present and future amelioration of your lot, the lot of the people; for, once more, the people, whom their masters in their pride count for so little, whom they regard with so much disdain, who are but an instrument of their insatiable avarice, a field which they cultivate, an animal which they saddle, bridle and ride, this people comprises the human race.

If you know how to defend your rights, if you accomplish your duties, your troubles will cease. The human race, raised from its long prostration, will be no longer the property of a few task-masters, nor the earth their exclusive heritage. All will share in the blessings destined by Providence for all. The sweat, the toil, the hunger, the sufferings and the anguish of one portion of the community, will no longer nourish the opulence, the immoderate luxury, the passions, and the monstrous pleasures of the other.

At the same time, abuse not yourselves respecting times nor things. Dream not of the impossible, that never will, never can be. Far from remedying the evils already superabundant in the world, you will but increase their number and their weight.

Perfect, absolute equality, not of rights (for this constitutes the essential attribute of order,) but of positions and the advantages annexed to each position, is not in the laws of nature; she has distributed her peculiar gifts, the powers of the body and the mind, unequally among men. Otherwise, what would society be? How could it exist, how develop itself, did not diversity of genius and aptitudes produce a series of destinations corresponding to the functions which they imply, from the humblest to the most elevated? These plough the fields, those cultivate science, and all contribute to the common good.

The very movement of social life opposes an invincible obstacle to an equality of fortunes: establish it in the morning, at evening it would no longer exist: industry, more or less intelligent, more or

less active, good or bad economy, would have already destroyed it. Nor should this be a subject of complaint; for this continual effort of each one, this instinctive employment of all his faculties to augment his own well-being, is one of the conditions of the general welfare.

Nor must you suppose that your condition, now so miserable, can be changed all at once. This sudden and total change, whatever you may do, is impossible. It implies a degree of violence that instead of reforming would break up society and destroy its resources.

When you shall have succeeded in founding your political organization upon the christian equality of rights, the regeneration you desire, and which God commands you to desire, will accomplish itself in its three inseparable branches,

**viz : Material Order, Intellectual Order,
and Moral Order.**

Whence comes evil in the material order ? Is it from the easy circumstances of some ? No, but rather from the destitution of others ; from the fact that by virtue of laws made by the rich for the exclusive benefit of the rich, they almost exclusively profit by the labor of the poor, thus rendered poorer and poorer. What then is to be done ? We must secure to labor an equitable portion of its products ; not by despoiling him who already possesses, but by enabling the destitute to acquire and enjoy by the legitimate use of their physical and intellectual powers.

Now, how shall this be accomplished ?
By two means : by the abolition of the laws of privilege and monopoly ; and by

the diffusion of capital, which renders the instruments of labor accessible to all.

The effect of these two means, combined with the incalculable power of association, would be gradually to re-establish the natural course of property, when artificially concentrated in a few hands; to procure its just and equal distribution, and its indefinite increase.

Nothing which ought to be durable can be accomplished without the aid of time, without the slow but sure influence of the organizing energy. When a meadow dries and withers because the course of the rivulet by which it had been watered has been turned away, its verdure can be restored only by conducting there new streams, which, spreading over its surface, will penetrate to the root

of each blade of grass and re-animate its languishing life.

Enfranchised labor, master of itself, will become master of the world; for labor is the action of Humanity, accomplishing the work which the Creator has given it in charge.

Working men, take courage then; be not wanting to yourselves, and God will not be wanting to you. Each of your efforts will produce its fruit, will be attended by an amelioration of your condition, whence other and greater ameliorations will spring, and from these yet others, until the time when the earth, refreshed and regenerated, shall be like a field whose harvest is peacefully gathered and shared by a family of brothers.

In proportion as your ease is augmented, and you become less absorbed in the necessities of the body, wants of another nature will awake in you, demanding in their turn the aliment proper to satisfy them. You will want knowledge; and you will be able to attain it, because neither the resources nor leisure for the cultivation of the mind and the acquisition of science will be longer beyond your reach. All will seek the fountains of knowledge universally accessible, and instruction, while it will increase the productiveness of their toil, will also progressively introduce them into a superior sphere of existence.

Constant and exclusive devotion to mere physical necessities degrades man to the rank of an animal. Now, in your present situation, six days of the seven are consecrated to the wants of the body;

and hardly is the seventh left you for the enjoyment of spiritual or intellectual life, the true life of man. By little and little you will have more and more time to spare from your physical, and devote to your mental improvement; for the direct tendency of progress is to spiritualize man more and more, and to substitute for his own physical force in all material labors, the brute forces of nature which it subjects to the empire of his intelligent will.

Then will the latent faculties of which you are now unconscious, develope in you a new being, growing with your intellectual growth, awaking to the sentiment of art, and joying in the contemplation of the true and the beautiful.

To these two orders of improvement, material and intellectual, will be added

a third, without which the first two could never be accomplished ; for there can be no perfection which has not its root in moral perfection ; and they are all connected, mutually aiding each other.

Duty, rendered easier by the diminution of those sufferings that excited its infringement, will be each day more rarely violated. A large portion of the crimes punished by law arise from hunger: they will disappear when the men whom it now besets shall be beyond the reach of its fatal suggestions.

From the holy maxims of equality, of liberty, of fraternity, immutably established, will emanate the social organization. Private interests will gradually merge in one single interest, the interest of all, because, emancipated from the influence of cold and sterile selfishness, all

will comprehend, all will feel that there is no life but in love, no satisfaction of the soul but in the devotion which love inspires. Like the dove reposing upon her nest, its genial warmth will penetrate the divine germ hidden in the depths of human nature, and it will be seen to come forth like a new world.

In this new world, illumined by the splendor of the sovereign Being, the sacred tie that connects creatures with their author will appear to men as it is; and Religion, despoiled of its antiquated vestments, of the body that has become infirm and worn out by the years in which it has lain as in a tomb, will again arise in its original and eternal purity and holiness. The Gospel of Christ, sealed for a time, will be laid open before the nations, and all they who seek to read the law therein shall receive life.

Humbled in the dust, lost in the darkness and the void of that which passes, souls now aspire to the light, to the immutable and infinite good; they thirst after God. So soon as they shall have again found the right way, they will rush toward him with an impetuosity like that with which travellers in the burning desert hasten toward the long desired fountain that is to slake their thirst with its limpid waters.

Society, conceived according to its true nature, will cease to be an organized struggle between different interests. Inflexible justice will afford equal protection to all its rights. Upon what pretence will the strong then despoil the feeble, or interfere with the exercise of his rights? Will it be upon the ground that God has given to one what he has not given to the other? Has the common Father of

all disowned a portion of his children? You, who claim the exclusive enjoyment of his gifts, show the testament that disinherits your brothers !

With a constant eye to the alleviation of evils, charity will greatly modify the laws. They will tend more and more to compensate the disadvantages inevitably resulting to many, either from natural inequalities or from certain fortuitous circumstances of birth or position.

The Son of Man said : " The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests ; but the Son of man has not where to lay his head."

They will no longer punish the unfortunate who bear the weight of the same destiny as the Son of man ; they will no

longer impute to the poor the crime of those who forsake them.

Legislation itself, instituted for the repression of real crimes, will change its character. A spirit of mercy and kind compassion will replace the spirit of vengeance, the false and sanguinary idea of expiation. The criminal will be viewed as an erring brother who ought to be pitied, enlightened, reformed ; he will be regarded as a sick man who should be cured if curable, who should be hindered from injuring others and himself, if he be not. The improvement of the culpable will be the end of punishment. How can his suffering be a reparation to society?

Life belongs only to God, and that is why it is written : "Thou shalt not kill."

When the law kills, it inflicts not a chastisement, it commits a murder.

Can you call by the name of justice the act which renders him infamous by whom it is accomplished, the act which at one blow ravishes from a human being all his rights, and not only his rights, but even the faculty of ever possessing any right? When you have converted an animated being into a handful of dust, will that dust, scattered by the winds of heaven over the face of the earth, prove a seed of good, a germ of virtue?

As for the rest, what matters it? Love sways even justice, and it is the peculiarity of love to devote itself for him who is beloved, to sacrifice itself voluntarily for him. The brother does not say to his brother: "Give me thy life;" he gives his own rather. The punish-

ment of death was abrogated eighteen centuries ago, upon the cross of Christ.

The duty which unites individuals and families will equally unite the people. The impious maxims which divide them, which found their relations upon principles foreign and often contrary to those of morality, the barbarous maxims which suppose them naturally enemies to each other, will be rejected with horror.

Already they begin to comprehend that, far from being opposed, as is said by those who deceive to divide and divide the more surely to master them, their interests are identical; already does a lively instinct cause them to approach each other with fraternal recognition. A feeling of mutual reliance will soon arise, aiding and strengthening all. That which separated them totters and crumbles; dis-

tances even are effaced. Through the long vista of ages may be descried that happy epoch in which the world will form but one grand community governed by the same law, the law of justice and charity, of equality and fraternity, the future religion of the entire human race, who will recognize in Christ its last and supreme legislator.

The numberless evils derived from the vices of government will diminish in proportion as the public reason, surmounting the obstinate resistance of prejudice and interest, shall substitute for the principle of domination, on which those vices repose, that of free association, the immediate consequence of the sovereignty of the people, the only real one, the only one that has a firm and solid foundation in right.

This change, eventually certain, will suffice to annihilate the general causes of war. What can seriously trouble the peace of the world when there shall no longer be either wars for conquest, or wars for succession, or commercial wars ?

Now the wars for conquest, fatal to the conquerors as to the conquered, are constantly caused by the ambition of a chief insatiable of power and possessions. Let the chief, whatever he may be, obey instead of commanding the people, of whom he is and can be but the simple mandatory : wars of conquest, with all the calamities and disasters that follow in their train, will instantly cease to desolate mankind ; for the people who should attack the liberty of another people, its rights, its existence, would thereby renounce its own liberty, its own rights, and pass sentence of death upon itself.

Wars for succession, whence do they come? What are they? A consequence of the monstrous right that makes a country and a people the property of a family, its hereditary possession. These wars must disappear with the rights that engender them.

From the clogs and shackles placed upon the communications of one people with another, upon the expansion of industry and the natural laws which every where tend to establish an equilibrium between production and consumption, not of one nation but of all nations,—from these arbitrary shackles, which profit the fisc alone at the expense of the public prosperity, arise those commercial wars so frequent in modern times. There can be no possible cause for them when perfect freedom of commerce shall have crowned your other liberties.

Delivered from the scourge of war, to which a transitory competition will, at first succeed, nations will comprehend the interest that all will have to order their efforts, to organize their labors, in such manner as to draw from the common heritage, the universal patrimony, all that it can furnish to supply the wants and multiply the enjoyments of men; and from this amount of labor, directed to a common end, will flow an incalculable mass of useful productions that will be constantly augmented by the progressive developement of science, while the moral developement will determine its most equitable distribution.

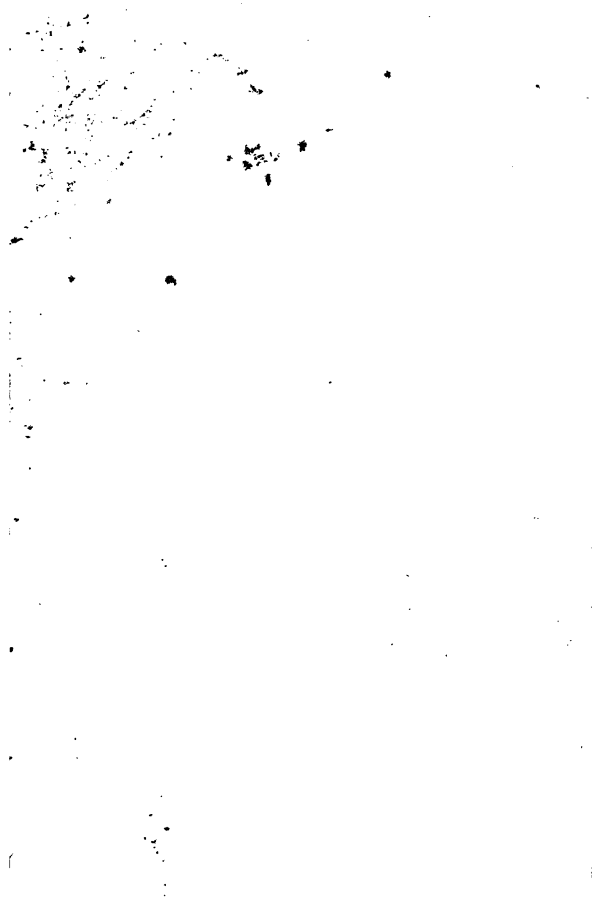
Thus will there be a gradual increase of the well-being of each one, intimately connected with the well-being of all; thus, by degrees, will evil go on decreasing, as a natural consequence of the gen-

eral progress. Undoubtedly it will never be entirely destroyed here below ; undoubtedly there will always be suffering on earth. And it is, never forget, that all does not end on earth ; that the present life, for the human race as for the individual, charged with the accomplishment of a laborious but great and holy work, is but a necessary preparation for a more perfect existence.

People, guard against incarnating your sublime hopes in the dust which you trample under your feet. During your short earthly pilgrimage you are surrounded but by phantoms, by vain shadows : the realities are invisible to you, the eye of flesh cannot seize them ; but God, who has given to man his invincible desire for them, has also planted in his heart the infallible presentiment of their attainment.

Lift up your eyes: ~~there~~ here is labor, a task to be accomplished; elsewhere is repose, true joy, the certain reward of duty performed even to the end.

When, after the toils of the day, the farmer sees the evening approach, he enters in peace his cottage, thinking of the harvest hidden in the furrows, which clouds will moisten with their gentle showers, which the sun will ripen; *for he knows that the night will not be eternal.*





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